# B-36 blows lid off vast corruption

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## Louis Johnson linked to Hitler's financiers in billion dollar deal

By Tabitha Petran

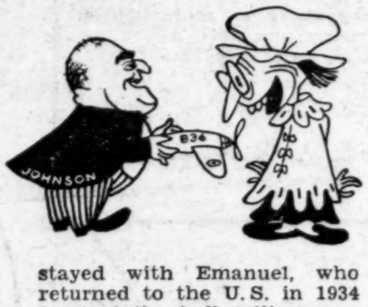
THE B-36 was built to carry the atom bomb and win a war almost single-handed. The U. S. government is spending more than a billion dollars of the tax-payers' money on the huge bomber. But last week high Navy officials charged that it was a colossally expensive sitting duck, capable only of stopping enemy bullets.

The Navy men had their own brand of warfare to protect. But even those who had no favorite brand knew that the B-36 was more than a plane; it was a gigantic symbol of economic corruption. Its history can be told in personalities—not of the engineers who made it, but of the men who touted it and sold it.

**POLITICIAN - FANCIER:** A key figure in this story is the financier, Victor Emanuel, who during the war owned Consolidated-Vultee, which now makes the B-36. It is said he "fancies politicians almost equally with race horses." Emanuel got off to a flying start when he sold his father's utilities chain to Samuel Insull for around $13,000,000 in 1926 and embarked on a playboy life in Europe.

### Dreams of empire

In England, he dreamed with the Belgian capitalist, Alfred Lowenstein, and his bankers, J. Henry Schroeder of London — connected with the Schroeder interests of Germany, leading backers of the Nazi Party—of building a U.S. utilities empire. Although Lowenstein committed suicide before the scheme was launched, the Schroeders




stayed with Emanuel, who returned to the U. S. in 1934 to start the ball rolling.

Financed by the Schroeders of London, Buenos Aires and New York—all connected with the Schroeders of Germany—Emanuel got into public utilities, shipbuilding, the Republic Steel Corp. and, just before the war, the aircraft industry. The J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp. of N.Y. was the U. S. financial agent for the German steel trust, I. G. Farben firms, other German cartels and indirectly the Nazi government.

**THE STAGE IS SET:** In 1943 Emanuel bought Consolidated Aircraft, which since 1941 had done development work on the prototype of the B-36, and merged it with his Vultee Co. to form Consolidated Vultee. He named Tom Girdler of Republic Steel chairman of the board, Louis Johnson and later George Allen as directors. Little more than a year later the firm got its first B-36 orders. Robert Patterson, then Under-Secretary of War in charge of contracts, ordered 100 of the big bombers from Tom Girdler. The contract amounted to more than $400,000,000.

### Mr. Odlum

On April 13, 1948, after he retired as Secretary of War, Patterson was made a director of the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp.

When Emanuel sold his Consolidated interests to Floyd Odlum almost two years ago, Louis Johnson remained on the board to become the link between the Emanuel and Odlum interests. Odlum's role in the B-36 success story was exposed in the GUARDIAN June 6.

**POLITICS AND PLANES:** Johnson became chairman of the finance committee of the Democratic Party in the summer of 1948. He raised $1,500,000 for Truman. Biggest contributor was Floyd Odlum.

Early this year the Air Force suddenly increased allocations for the B-36 from half a billion to more than a billion dollars. The sudden switch to the B-36, at the expense of other types, came only a few days after the first Air Force Annual Report suggested that the Air Force itself considered the bomber unsatisfactory and coincided, it is charged, with the decision to make Johnson Defense Secretary.

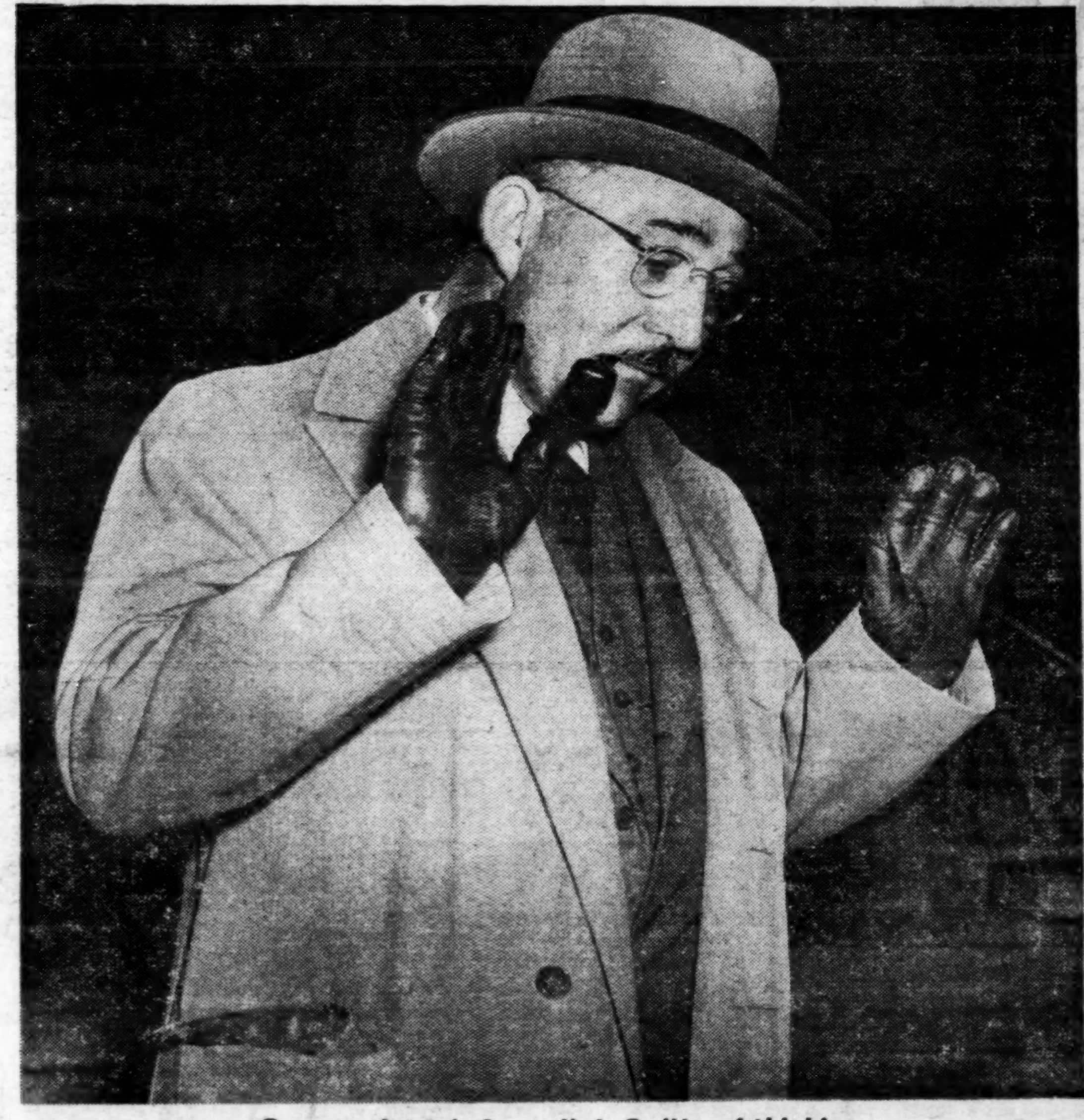
### Desperate cover-up

Last spring the 75 additional B-36's were authorized. According to one report, mentioned by David Lawrence in the N. Y. **Sun**, the Research and Development Board, which customarily approves procurement proposals, "was deliberately bypassed by extraordinary and unprecedented instructions by Secretary Johnson." Efforts to cover up the B-36 facts, said Lawrence, have been "desperate."

**ONLY PART OF STEAL:** But the B-36 contracts give only a glimpse of the vast opportunities for the "steal"—legal or by cutting corners—in cold-war Washington.

Johnson was also involved with Victor Emanuel in efforts to get control of German assets in the U. S. during the war. Emanuel got operating control of the richest prize, I. G. Farben's U. S. front, General Aniline & Film (GAF) when an official of his utility combine, Leo T. Crowley, became U. S. Alien Property Custodian in 1942.

*(Continued on Page 10)*



**_Communist trial verdict: Guilty of thinking_**

*"If you once get yourself in the frame of mind . . . that it will be wrong to let little things disturb you, then there comes a certain calm and peace of mind which are of the essence in the administration of justice."* —**Judge Harold R. Medina**, opening his charge to the jury.

**Reversal of 173 years of American democracy since Jefferson wrote the rights of freedom and revolution into the Constitution was a little thing disturbing neither judge nor jury. (See page 5.)**

**Another Peekskill?**

## Catholic priest speaking for ALP mobbed in N.Y.C.

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**2 Harrys, 2 Johns**

## Poker Cabinet —Meet the four U.S. Presidents

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the progressive newsweekly

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*Report to readers*

# It's our birthday, but send Marc the gifts

**ONE year ago this Monday, on Oct. 18, 1948, NATIONAL GUARDIAN made its first bow as a national newsweekly.**

**This week, then—according to anniversary traditions—is our Paper Anniversary, and ordinarily we would be bidding every GUARDIAN reader to a Paper Shower to send us off on our second year with a doubled subscription list.**

**But right now there is a matter of great urgency which warrants top priority in the considerations and pursestrings of every American progressive.**

**The campaign of Congressman Vito Marcantonio for mayor of New York City is in critical need of funds.**

**By your letters and by the response already received to the GUARDIAN's four-page presentation of the issues and candidates of the N. Y. campaign last week, it is clear that there is nationwide recognition among GUARDIAN readers of the national and even international importance of the Marcantonio campaign. It is the principal concentration of the Progressive Party in 1949. The candidate is the hardest-hitting, most steadfast progressive and fighter for peace in Congress. Like his mentor and predecessor in Congress, Fiorello LaGuardia, Vito Marcantonio is one of the most vital figures in the political life of his time. His election as mayor of New York can be of incalculable importance to the future of the progressive movement all over America.**

**THE task of bringing the Marcantonio campaign to the homes, doorsteps and street corners of a city of 8,000,000 people is an enormous one. It means hundreds of hired sound trucks touring the streets nightly. It means millions of pieces of literature, signs, placards, costly newspaper advertising, even costlier radio time, rents for city, borough and neighborhood headquarters.**

**The American Labor Party is the only party in the N. Y. race which exists solely on rank-and-file financing. The Republicans and Democrats have a corner on the campaign contributions of real estate and business, and they are welcome to them as far as Vito Marcantonio is concerned. His campaign has proceeded thus far on dimes and crumpled dollar bills from plain people, thousands and thousands of them, throughout the whole city. But the people who need and want progressive, humane city administration—who revere their untiring "Marc" for his great fight for peace, jobs and human rights in Congress as well as in his N. Y. district—do not have enough dollars to elect him.**

**THEY—and we of the GUARDIAN—ask your help to Make Marc Mayor. The need is urgent, immediate and great. Ten cents or ten dollars, whatever you can send, will help toward winning the kind of victory we need to turn the tide in America from war to peace, poverty to betterment, human neglect to human dignity.**

**The address is:**

**Marcantonio Campaign Committee,**
**13 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

**We at the GUARDIAN could ask for no more fitting commemoration of our Paper Anniversary than a shower of banknotes from all over the U. S. A. to help Make Marc Mayor.**

**Yours for a million Marcantonio votes,**

John T. McManus

# THE MAILBAG

## Mountaineer for Marc

ERWIN, TENN.

I'm a Tennessee hillbilly that has to dig in the ground for the 'taters, that has to pay ungodly high-priced grift to the Morgan Bank's General Mills (Purina Division) for chicken feed and hog chop, and has to pay $2 to vote.

And I'm a mountain shab that knows enough about the Constitution to believe in it 100% and to be 100% against our grand rascals up in Congress that call themselves "100% Americans" and give all their time and talent to undermining the American workers and throwing our tax money down the rat-hole into their own pockets.

So naturally, when I see Vito Marcantonio is the only man up there in Congress that is doing a damn thing for the Tennessee workers or any other workers, I got sense enough to know he's my champion and friend and I say "hats off!"

Now it will sure be a fine thing for this country if we can set Marcantonio in the New York mayor's chair which they say is the second highest office in the land.

**Ernest Seeman**

## 2 anniversary bucks

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed my check for $2 for two anniversary subscriptions. May I express my thanks for your past issues—I sure do get a big bang reading your West Coast wire by Gene Richards, your Mailbag, and roundup news.

**Jacob B. Derfler**

## You get the gifts

MENLO PARK, CALIF.

Happy Birthday! I still think that sending gift subscriptions to the GUARDIAN, with its consistent peace program, is the least expensive form of "race insurance" I can think of.

**Miles Bennet**

## Californians for Marc

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Progressive Party members and supporters in California, as well as people generally out here, are greatly interested in the current mayoralty election campaign in New York.

The fight that Vito Marcantonio has put up for the past 25 years, and more especially since he's been in Congress, on behalf of labor and the people, is a fight that every working man and woman must consider as in his or her behalf—and one that must be supported.

**Hugh Bryson,**
**National President, Marine Cooks and Stewards**
**State Chairman, I.P.P. of Calif.**

## Facts from a farmer

GRETNA, VA.

If the GUARDIAN had a million readers today—as a starter—we who want peace, security, and abundance for America and the world could, in the next few months, put a halt to many of the heartbreaking things that are taking place in our country today.

I hope each reader of the GUARDIAN, during the remainder of 1949, will influence ten friends to become readers. If this happens the GUARDIAN will have those million readers by Christmas. I believe in everybody practicing what they preach, so I am acting the whole hog and sending in the names of ten new readers and $10 today.

**A dirt farmer**

## Cat—or red herring?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Should anyone see or find a strange cat wandering about, will he or she be good enough to return it to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt? If a description is wanted, here it is, in Mrs. Roosevelt's own words:

"One of the Soviet attacks on democracies, particularly the U. S., centers on racial policies. In recent months the Russians have been watching particularly our attitude toward the U.S. Indians. So, the question of what we do about our Indians is enhanced in importance now because it is part of the fight which we and other democracies must wage to perfect our government household so it will not be vulnerable to Communist attack."

Get it? If the Russians weren't looking, then the Indians could go to . . .

So, return the good lady's cat, will you? You can be sure she would not have let a nice, sleek creature like that one out of her bag on purpose.

**M. R.**

## Taylor's record

ST. MARIES, IDAHO

In the Sept. 26 GUARDIAN a letter was printed on "Taylor's Exit" written by "An American Progressive" in Paris. I wish this anonymous person would get his facts in mind:

Sen. Taylor was elected on the Democratic ticket and his running again on that ticket is no "retreat" and no "sellout." Rather, it is an insult to the honesty of the most progressive man in the Senate to so speak.

His voting record is such that there can be no question as to the support of him by the Progressive Party which, unlike the old parties, does not support or oppose candidates along mechanical lines of "party loyalty," but on the basis of the program they fight for. Why not read the **Congressional Record** and see that Glen Taylor has consistently worked for all the major progressive moves? It is, therefore, important to keep him in the Senate, the place where he can and will continue to stand up and fight even though the going gets rough. And say, Progressives, don't let's quibble, and weaken our cause; let's unite all progressive forces in this fight against militarism and fascism.

**Louise Dennis**

## Another for Glen

BRISBANE, CALIF.

Now there's an election campaign coming up in Idaho and the program of the reactionaries is: "Beat Taylor!" Glen Taylor went down south and, in my opinion, risked his life to show that he meant business about democracy and civil rights.

I think Glen's remark about a "splinter party" was wrong — we have had third parties started in this country, and certainly shall again. But whenever an issue came up where Taylor's vote could count, he has been on the right side. The latest instance was on the atrocious proposal to subsidize Franco to the tune of $50,000,000 of our money.

What do Sen. Taylor's critics want him to do? Do they want to see another Pat McCarran seated in his place? The fault is with the voters who eat up Hearst propaganda and vote accordingly —not with Glen Taylor, as I see things.

**Louise Harding Horr**

## And one against

SPRINGFIELD, MO.

Henry Wallace at the Philadelphia convention advised in substance that weak-kneed individuals had no place in the Progressive Party and we are sorry Glen Taylor has taken the limber knee. Well, I think we can live without him and I hope he is able to live with himself.

**H. M. Horn**

## Be kind to George

ASHLAND, ILL.

One is really ashamed at your attack on the British royal family. No American at this stage of the world's confusion should indulge in such cheap crticism. Wherein does royalty-baiting differ from Negro-baiting you so loudly condemn?

**W. P.**

**Well, for one thing, we don't recall an instance where Negroes held kings (crown or cotton) in bondage. Ed.**

## Q. and A.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN is fine. I am not a crank, but I am not the only one who is curious about the removal of Anna Louise Strong and Ella Winter from the masthead, and why they have not written anything all this time.

**Unsigned**

**Both Miss Strong and Miss Winter, commissioned as roving reporters for the GUARDIAN when they were traveling in Europe, are now back in the U. S. Miss Strong has been working on her book, "The Chinese Get China" (to be published this month). We look forward to more contributions from both. Ed.**

## Unpaid balance

PORTLAND, ORE.

Memo to the steel lords: In your insisting to the bitter end that your workers contribute a part of their currently-paid wages to the fund out of which it is proposed that the workers' insurance and pensions be paid, you seem to be overlooking the dreadful fact that this fund is an indirect contribution of the workers, since it represents the unpaid balance of their wages. Moreover, you seem to be overlooking the further fact that your workers have contributed to your and your families' fabulous fortunes and the almost unrestricted leisure to enjoy them.

**Clay Fulks**

## Love your neighbor

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A Roman Catholic priest was attacked and abused while a sergeant and seven or eight cops watched at 181st St. and St. Nicholas Av. last Friday night. He spoke on Christ's teachings—love your neighbor.

I wonder will any of the Irish-American papers have it or any of the so-called free press.

God bless your work.

**Cornelius Mack**

**See Fr. Duffy story on p. 3. Ed.**

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**Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., Required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1949.**

State of NEW YORK }
County of NEW YORK } ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John T. McManus, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are:

Publisher: Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Stockholders: Cedric Belfrage, James Aronson, John T. McManus, all of 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and that affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 35,336.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of Sept. 1949.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
No. 31-2016600
(Commission expires Mar. 30, 1951)

# 'Take that collar off!' they screamed—and spat at the priest

"HE'S no priest! My brother is a priest and he never talks like that! . . ." The woman was hysterical. She tore at the man's clerical collar. Other people shouted vile curses and spat on him. A police sergeant who started to take him to the station house finally told him to "get the hell out of here."

This happened on Oct. 7 in New York City—at 181st St. and St. Nicholas Av.—to Father Clarence Duffy, an ordained Roman Catholic priest. The people attacking him were Roman Catholics of Irish descent.

Father Duffy spoke at a street-corner meeting under auspices of the American Labor Party. When he and a companion left, a burly man, white with rage, followed him. The man poured out a torrent of profanity, then spat in Duffy's face. Father Duffy's companion wanted to knock him down, but Duffy stopped him. "It isn't Christian," he said.

Looking for their car, the priest and his companion circled the block and ran into the meeting again. "There he is!" shouted the crowd. "Say something in Latin if you're a priest!" they taunted. "Take that collar off—he's a disgrace to his religion! This is some Bowery bum dressed up!" Finally policemen, who had been idly watching the scene, moved in.

Longshoremen and sailors have offered to provide a strongarm squad to protect Father Duffy. He has steadfastly refused.

"It isn't Christian," he tells them. "You must love your neighbors."

*Father Duffy's story*

## 'I cannot go back . . . I would consider myself a traitor and a coward . . .'

**By Father Clarence Duffy**

*The American priest to whom the above-described events occurred was formerly in charge of a poor parish in Co. Leitrim, Ireland, where he developed a co-operative movement to help the land and the people. In 1937 he returned to the U.S. where, with the sanction of the Bishop of Kilmore to his absence from that diocese, he has continued promoting "the spirit of true neighborliness or Christian charity." Here is Father Duffy's own account of the past month's climactic developments in his life.*

LAST Sept. 14, at the invitation of one of its officers, Mary Murphy, I spoke to a Bronx Area membership meeting of Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union (Ind.) In the course of the talk I condemned, as completely opposed to the Christian ethic and spirit, the violent attempt to suppress freedom of assembly by professing Christians at Peekskill.

I reminded my listeners, many if not most of whom were Catholics, of Christ's words (Matt. V:43-45): "You have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say to you, Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you." The mark of the true Christian—the one by which Christ said other men would recognize him as such—is observance of Christ's law of love: "By this shall all men know you are my disciples, if you have love one for another."

I referred to the democratic nature of Local 65 and the many benefits it has brought its members. Quoting from the Rerum Novarum encyclical, I pointed out that these were the kind of things Pope Leo XIII said a union should do for its members; but that as a result of doing the very things the Pope advocated, Local 65 was called "red" by people ignorant of the encyclical and of Christ's fundamental teachings.

**ALP FOR PEACE:** About two weeks later the Vical General of the New York Archdiocese informed me he had heard of "a meeting of the Communistic party attended for the most part by organizers of the independent unions in the New York department store field. Seemingly," he continued, "their efforts are directed to the election of Marcantonio as mayor." He suggested that if I were invited to speak at any such meetings I should excuse myself.

In my reply I expressed the hope that things might not be made more difficult for me, and my desire not to make them more difficult for him. I enclosed my pamphlet **Peace on Earth** in which—as a priest interested in promoting brotherhood and a U.S. citizen—I am on record as advocating support of the American Labor Party and Progressive Party.

"You know," I continued, "I am not a Communist. But I am certainly not going to run away from the pursuit of justice and peace because I find a Communist at my elbow working for the same things. I will work in the same field with him until he tries to force his materialistic communism on me or on others. Then I shall part company with him as far as cooperation goes, but I will not leave the field to him nor . . . use tactics contrary to Christian teachings."

**CANNOT GO BACK:** On the night of Oct. 7 I was scheduled to speak at two meetings under ALP auspices. In a letter I received that day enclosing a **Union Voice** picture of me shaking hands with Local 65 President David Livingston, the Vicar General said my "alleged support of ALP candidates" had "scandalized Catholics in this area. Unless you agree to desist . . . I shall be forced to withdraw permission to permit you to celebrate Mass in this jurisdiction."

I replied: "I cannot go back or give up the work I am doing. . . . If I did not act as I am doing I would consider myself a traitor to my Master and to my conscience, and a coward to boot. I do not intend to be either."

At the two meetings I opened my remarks in much the same way as at the Local 65 meeting. I asked my hearers to think of their needs and exhorted them to vote for ALP candidates for the fulfillment of those needs.

**NO COMPROMISE:** So far, I am happy to record, the threat to withdraw permission for me to celebrate Mass in the New York Archdiocese has not been carried out.

I hope it never will be; for while withdrawal of that permission would deprive me of a meager income, it could not and would not prevent me from celebrating Mass in any part of the U.S.A., in any part of the world.

### The temple of liberty

Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of posterity to breed tryants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxons, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began—so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man hereafter would dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

*ABRAHAM LINCOLN in an 1856 speech, as quoted in "Lincoln Collector: The Story of Oliver R. Barrett's Great Lincoln Collection" (Harcourt, Brace).*

**CARDINAL SPELLMAN VISITS THE POPE**

*When the clergy beginning with the Pope followed by the Cardinals, Archbishops and priests apply to their own lives the teachings of Christ, when they really follow and pattern their lives on Christ, when they follow the virtues inculcated by Christ, including charity, justice, humility, patience, self-denial, poverty or detachment from worldly goods and the use of worldly power, there will be no danger from Communism or from any other "menace."*

**Father Clarence Duffy**

*Democrats in California petition the President:*

## 'Dismiss the prosecution against the Communist leaders'

*OFFICIALS of the Democratic Party in California have petitioned President Truman to dismiss the case against the Communist leaders just tried in New York.*

*The 27 signing the petition included 12 members of the Los Angeles County Central Committee, 5 members of the State Central Committee, Alameda County committeemen, two executives of the Berkeley Democratic Club, and the chairmen of the 16th, 45th, 59th, 60th, and 63rd Assembly Districts.*

*It was originally intended to present the appeal to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, scheduled to speak at the Democratic Convention of 11 western states in San Francisco in September. As McGrath did not appear, the Democratic officials have dispatched the petition to the President. It appears below:*

We note with pleasure that President Harry S. Truman has spoken out against the political hysteria which today threatens to destroy the democratic heritage inspired by Thomas Jefferson.

Especially we note President Truman's suggestion to study the lessons of the Alien and Sedition Laws.

In fighting against the Alien and Sedition Laws, Jefferson pointed out that the strength of American institutions is in the complete freedom guaranteed the people to express divergent political or religious opinions.

Jefferson taught the nation this means freedom to advocate an idea with which the majority does not agree; even an idea which the majority may hate.

We are Democrats who hold to these principles of Thomas Jefferson. We recognize that the Democratic Party was founded in the face of unparallelled suppression, growing out of the Alien and Sedition laws which were passed and enforced by the Federalist Party to destroy Jeffersonian political opposition.

Our study of the Alien and Sedition laws leads us to the conclusion that the present prosecution, in a New York Federal Court, of a minority political party, is the 20th-century expression of these repressive laws.

As Democrats it is our considered judgment that these New York prosecutions do not reflect credit on, and can only do a disservice to the Democratic Party.

In the spirit of Thomas Jefferson and as active Democrats it is our firm belief that violations of constitutional freedom of any political or religious group endanger the rights of all other groups, all other institutions, as well as the Democratic Party itself.

We therefore urge that the President use his good offices to bring about the dismissal of the prosecution against the twelve leaders of the Communist Party, in keeping with the finest principle of Jeffersonian democracy.

# ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

## THE NATION

### U.S. security key: fascism or morality?

WHAT shall we do about the Russian bomb? There were many answers: run and hide; make more bombs ourselves; build battleships; make peace. But some wily citizens devised a plan to steal the bomb and use it for their own ends.

They planned no raid behind the Urals. These men were daring but not crude; they planned to use only the idea of the Russian bomb, as a Wall St. speculator uses the idea of wheat and buys and sells it without ever handling the grain.

They planned to use the existence of the Russian bomb as a pretext for dictatorship in the U.S. This was the theory: the Russian bomb is a threat to U.S. democracy. U.S. democracy must be protected. In an emergency a dictatorship is needed to protect U.S. democracy.

**FOR DEMOCRACY:** Clinton L. Rossiter, professor of political science at Cornell University, launched the trial balloon. In the **Review of Politics**, a monthly published by the University of Notre Dame, he wrote an essay entitled "Constitutional Dictatorship in the Atomic Age." He said: "No sacrifice is too great for our democracy, least of all the temporary sacrifice of democracy itself."

He described the "mass destruction, mass panic and mass flight" that will come with atomic war. Then he asked: "What sort of a government will step in to restore order and bring the people to safety and their senses? . . . The answer should be obvious: dictatorship, military dictatorship under the direction, I hope, of the President or Acting President of the United States."

He outlined the steps to dictatorship as "workable adjustments that we might undertake now." The actual legislation setting up a military dictatorship would be enacted in standby form. But, he said, it might be invoked in case of "depression, rebellion and especially atomic war."

**BOMBS AND MORALS:** The Russian bomb had yet another effect on U.S. life. It evoked a moral sense in military men. Last week Rear Admiral Ralph A. Ofstie, waging the Navy's war against the Air Force and the B-36, told the House Armed Services Committee that the bomb had "produced an illusion of power and even a kind of bomb-rattling jingoism." He decried the "strategic" bombing of whole cities and said "we must insure that our military techniques do not strip us of self-respect."

The Admiral, whatever private axes he had to grind, won prompt and heartfelt public approval (See Jennings Perry, this page).

**BOMB-PROOF DIPLOMACY:** The Russian bomb seemed scarcely to penetrate to the diplomatic level. On Columbus Day Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, arrived at the Washington airport. Twenty-one guns boomed in salute. The band struck up the philosophic Indian anthem, "Jana Gana Mana" (People, society mind). President Truman at the airport said: "Destiny willed it that our country should have been discovered in the search for a new route to yours. I hope that your visit, too, will be, in a sense, a discovery of America."

Nehru, unlike Columbus, made no mistake about his destination. He had come to headquarters. In the Western capitals he was being hailed as the successor to Chiang Kai-shek as the new bulwark against communism in Asia. But in a careful speech to both houses of Congress he did not mention communism or Russia and implied that India's role should be as conciliator.

***All this — and John Foster Dulles too?***

**The Allegheny County (Pa.) Republican Party ordered 100 of these billboard posters from the Pittsburgh Outdoor Adv. Co. Dismayed by what it had produced, the company refused to put up the posters. The Republicans went to court. County Court Judge Patterson ordered the company to put up the posters even though he considered them a "shocking example of bad taste."**

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

***THE COMMUNIST TRIAL***

### The verdict: Guilty!

THE parade of professional anti-communists, informers and FBI agents was over. The prosecution in the trial of the Communist leaders had rested. The defendants had been heard in part when the prosecution's objections and the strictures of the judge allowed. The longest Federal criminal trial in history was ended.

The government had presented its case as if it were detailing a murder. It listed dates and names and places; it catalogued them all in copious briefs. Before the jury of four women and eight men retired, Judge Medina told them they must acquit the defendants if only "lawful and peaceful" reforms had been advocated.

The question was whether Marxism, which they taught, does in fact "advocate" force and violence. The world saw it as a test of the political temperature in the U. S., which must either live in a world already half Marxist or intensify the cold war at home and abroad.

**THE STAKES:** On the jury's decision would depend not only the liberty of the defendants, but the freedom of many others who might be charged with advocating views kindred to those of Marx.

Defense counsel had spent the last days summing up their case. They called the Smith Act, under which the case was tried, unconstitutional. The defendants were within their constitutional rights, they said, in advocating socialism. They warned of an eventual police state in which labor unions and minority groups would be suppressed. Hitler Germany was a precedent.

**THE VERDICT:** The jury went out at 3:55 p.m. on Thursday. Shortly after supper they asked for books and pamphlets on Marxism-Leninism that had been offered in evidence. They

*(Continued on following page)*

## *Jennings Perry*

### The banshee wails in the atomic wasteland

THE battle of the Navy's Banshee and the Army's B-36 might as well have been fought in the clouds over Washington as in the foggy congressional committee-room. The craft have shot each other to pieces anyway, leaving us with the A-bomb on our hands and nothing to deliver it with. This is embarrassing.

Even more embarrassing, we must hope, is Rear Admiral Ralph Ofstie's reminder that the whole project under debate is "morally wrong." Ofstie is the Navy's liaison with the Atomic Energy Commission. The project under debate is, of course, the delivery of A-bombs upon the people.

Several of the congressmen thought what Ofstie said was fine and true. Ofstie said that any attack producing "random mass slaughter of men, women and children" belongs to military methods "contrary to our fundamental ideals." Besides, he pointed out, such attacks would have "a negligible retarding effect" on the other side's armies in the field.

IT could be that the congressmen applauded Ofstie's argument only for that part cautioning that the A-bomb is not necessarily a decisive weapon. There can be no question, however, but that among us from coast to coast in this sweet land are many—are millions—who wear the A-bomb on our conscience and would sleep more honestly nights but for the little kimonaed ghosts crying in our belfries.

That is why, though sometimes we recall Hiroshima, we almost never mention Nagasaki. One was enough.

IT WOULD have been nice if Rear Admiral Ofstie had gone just a little further into the matter of our fundamental ideals where military methods are concerned. We could explore around there and surprise ourselves. If random mass slaughter of men, women and children—as by A-bombs—is morally wrong, what kind of slaughter of men, women and children could, in our opinion, be morally right?

If it is held a matter of mere numbers, we should have to look to the machinery of our morals very carefully. There was a time when we fought the Red Indians. We never forgave an Indian for taking just one scalp. . . .

Does our sense of guilt rest on the **manner** of the slaughter? For unless it somehow is wronger to kill 100,000 people by atomic radiation than to kill 100,000 people (men, women and children) by slow starvation, we are going to have to go back and heap on our conscience the direct effects of all the wartime blockades we have had a hand in.

PLEASE . . . I am not quibbling. I agree with Rear Admiral Ofstie. I am glad the congressmen applauded him. I am glad the Banshee vs. B-36 battle was moved down from the sky and staged in the committee-room where Ofstie could say his say with optimum repercussions—including this one.

It is just that I would like **morally wrong** to be parsed out past the random-mass-slaughter definition.

We might discover—indeed I am sure we would discover, if we are honest about it—that it is as wrong to kill 100,000 people 500 at a time with little ordinary bombs as to wipe out a city at one blow, as wrong to kill each other with blockades as with bullets. That the Banshee and the B-36 and the A-bomb are morally wrong equally. And that the only morally **right** thing is to love thy neighbor and study war no more.

EVIL is evil however you slice it. We can't say of slaughter "This is right because this is the way we used to do it" and "This is wrong because it is new and faster."

Brothers' blood is no purer on our gloves than on our naked hands.

*(Continued from preceding page)*

deliberated until 11, then were locked in hotel rooms for the night. Next morning at 9:30 they resumed deliberation. Three hours later they returned a verdict: "Guilty for all eleven." The maximum penalty is 10 years in prison and $10,000 fine.

Sentencing was set for this Friday at 10:30. Judge Harold R. Medina canceled the bail for all defendants and remanded them to jail pending the sentencing.

Then he turned to the lawyers. He found them all guilty of contempt of court, including Eugene Dennis who had defended himself. These were the sentences: Harry Sacher, Richard Gladstein and Dennis, six months; George Crockett and Abraham Isserman, four months; Eugene McCabe, 30 days. Their jail terms were to begin Nov. 15.

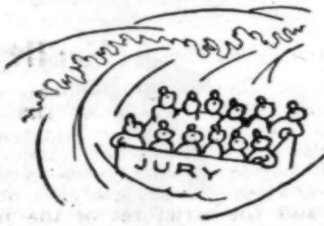
**DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE:** The case was to be carried first to the Circuit Court of Appeals, then to the Supreme Court. Money would be needed. The trial had cost the defense $500,000. Progressives were wiring Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to assure the defendants of reasonable bail.

Non-Communist progressives felt as threatened as party members and were tapping all available sources of money.

The Communist Party said they had two objectives: raise $1,000,000 immediately for the defense; and elect progressives everywhere to stem the tide of reaction.

***HISS CASE***

## Northern lights




DOES the press prejudice as many people in Vermont as in New York City? That was the question before Judge Alfred C. Coxe last week. Attorneys for Alger Hiss produced 40 articles from New York newspapers which, they said, tended to bias readers. They asked a change of venue to Vermont for Hiss' second perjury trial. His first ended last summer with a hung jury. One paper said of those jurors who voted for acquittal that one "was emotional, two were blockheads and one was a dope."

The judge commented pointedly that people in Vermont "get all the news they get in any part of the U.S." On Friday he denied the motion.

Earlier Judge Vincent L. Leibell disqualified himself from hearing the defense motion because one of his relatives had worked for **Time** when Whittaker Chambers, Hiss' accuser, had been senior editor. It was getting hard to find people untouched by the case.

The trial is set to open Nov. 1.

***TRENTON SIX***

## Stalling goes on

SINCE June Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe of Trenton, N.J., has dawdled over a State Supreme Court order to re-try the Trenton Six—six Negroes convicted of murder on repudiated "confessions." Last Wednesday he announced that a new trial would be postponed until January, 1950, because of a "crowded court calendar." The six men, sentenced to death in August, 1948, have been in jail since Feb., 1948.

To the Civil Rights Congress, which has led the defense of the Six, the postponement and "failure to nolle prosse (dismiss the case), which should be the only course in this case at the moment," was "a continuation of the persecution of the innocent Trenton Six. It is part of a deliberate plan begun in Jan., 1948, to torture and injure these six young Negroes."

The CRC said it would take "all necessary steps" to quash the "illegally obtained indictment," press for release of the men on bail, and "fight for the removal of Prosecutor Volpe."

***OHIO***

## The Morgan case

IN March, 1948, the Columbus **Citizen** published daily attacks against Frank Hashmall, local Communist organizer. On March 30 the press campaign brought results: a mob destroyed Frank Hashmall's house.

The **Citizen** didn't stop. The house Hashmall had occupied, it disclosed, belonged to the stepson of Richard G. Morgan, distinguished archaeologist and long curator of the Ohio State Archaeological Museum. For this indirect "association" with Hashmall, Morgan was fired.

**LOOK WHO'S HERE!** Last week Richard Morgan's demand for reinstatement and payment of back salary was argued in Ohio's Supreme Court. But a recent appointment to the museum's board of directors, made by Democratic Gov. Frank Lausche, is Don Weaver, editor of the Columbus **Citizen,** which had originated the hysteria.

Morgan's recently published **Bibliography of Ohio Archaeology** is being praised in scientific journals as the best in its field. Near Morrow, Ohio, stands the famed Fort Ancient Museum, created by Morgan, a monument to his scholarship.

Since his dismissal Morgan, an active supporter of Henry Wallace, has served as vice chairman of the Franklin County Progressive Party.

# WASHINGTON

***CONGRESS WEEK***

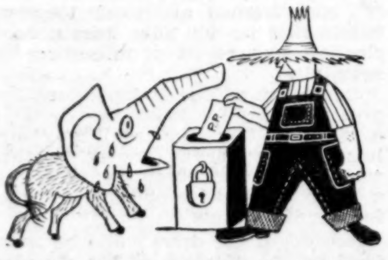
## Parity suffereth long

DEMOCRATS and Republicans were close to desperation in their efforts to write a farm bill that would look good. They twisted and turned, reversed themselves and began again and ended in indecision.

They had to decide whether to keep farm prices at the present 90% of parity or let them slide down to as low as 60% in some cases.

Last week the Senate passed the Anderson bill which would keep 90% parity for one year, then let prices fit a sliding scale. Before the vote the President reportedly insisted on rigid 90% parity, but Democratic floor leader Sen. Scott Lucas and Truman's former Secretary of Agriculture, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, both sided with Republicans for a flexible system.

The House had long ago passed a



bill to continue present supports of 90% parity for one year. It was up to conferees to work it out.

**SANITY OR BETRAYAL:** The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** called the Senate vote "sanity and sound policy." The N.Y. **Times** tagged it "a victory for integrity."

To many farmers it was betrayal. From Einar Kuivinen, president of the Farmers Union of Minnesota, it

*(Continued on following page)*

*Harry — Harry — John — John*

# Truman and his Poker Cabinet: the 4 Presidents of the U.S.

By John B. Stone
Guardian Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

RISING before the representatives of veterans' organizations who had come to pay him tribute, Gen. Harry Vaughan said last week:

"I'm considered in many circles to be very unethical, and I'm sure I will continue to be. There are only two people I have to please—Mr. Truman and Mrs. Vaughan. As long as I please them I'm satisfied. I've made various suggestions as to what other people

can do. You can make your own interpretation of that."

This was the credo of President Truman's military aide and intimate friend, the White House "fixer" and deep-freeze dispenser.

**REMEMBER LAST YEAR?** Many people remember the skepticism aroused a year ago by the Progressive Party's argument that Harry Truman would be just as useful to the reactionary leaders of big business as would Thomas E. Dewey.

The election is a year back now. Harry Truman has been President "on his own." The country is spending about $24,000,000,000 on arms and armies at home and abroad. Men from big business have been appointed to the most important government jobs. The "Fair Deal" is a dead duck.

A little digging in and about the intimates who have free access to the President reveals a lot about Harry Truman.

**THE FOUR PRESIDENTS:** He is really four men. One is the dapper, friendly, plugging fellow from Independence, Mo., who is careful with his bow-tie and his morning walk. The others are John Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, John Roy Steelman, Special Assistant to the President, and, of course, Harry Vaughan.

Cabinet members may come and go. Cabinet meetings may discuss the nation's problems. But the decisions are made when the official calendar shows all business done; then Harry and John and John and Harry can lock the door and talk good old-fashioned Missouri talk.

Not that Steelman comes from Missouri, nor that there is anything wrong with coming from Missouri. But Vaughan does. So does Snyder. And, although Steelman hails from Arkansas and is not a former National Guardsman (the other three are), he knows how to talk their talk.

What are the qualifications of these men who rule the U.S.A.?

### Small-time banker

John Wesley Snyder, a colorless man of 53, is pleasant to talk with when he's not crossed or pressed for explanations of complicated financial problems. Vice President Truman and Jesse Jones, the RFC banker, recommended Snyder to President Roosevelt for Federal Loan Administrator. Roosevelt did nothing about it. But the Truman Administration was only a few weeks old when John got the job.

Maybe he can credit his good luck to a World War I experience. He was a captain in the Field Artillery. In France he met Capt. Harry Truman, also of the artillery.

**THE ROAD UP:** For many years after the war, Snyder worked in small Arkansas and Missouri banks and as a federal bank receiver. In 1945 he became vice-president of the First National Bank of St. Louis, and went on up from there. Unkind people say he got into the Cabinet because the St. Louis bank refused to have him back.

Snyder plays a close poker game and is a charter member of Rotary International.

### Genial conciliator

Steelman is described as a "genial, 200-pound six-footer." He is the biggest man around the White House. He quit the Arkansas farm where he was born and got four degrees from four colleges. He was teaching sociology in Alabama when Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins picked him up as a labor conciliator.

A prodigious worker and talker, Steelman got "telephone paralysis" trying to settle labor disputes. He did cast the decisive vote for the closed shop in the captive mine strike of 1941; he was also Truman's closest adviser when Congress was asked to draft striking railroad workers.

**TALKS TWO WAYS:** Steelman talks progressive, usually acts the other way. He admits with no apparent regret that he was once a follower of Dr. Frank Buchman's Moral Rearmament movement, the quasi-religious society supported by big business which has recently attracted resurgent Nazis in West Germany.

One of the most efficient self-advertisers in Washington, Steelman always begs to be kept out of the papers. He now runs the National Security Resources Board and has a finger in nearly everything involving the President.

### The Fulton fixer

And then there is Harry Vaughan, who also plays poker close to his chest. He was born in Missouri and got a B.A. degree from Westminster College at Fulton. One of his most sensational "fixes" was getting Winston Churchill and Harry Truman to set off the cold war at Fulton, because the college needed publicity.

Vaughan was an artillery man in World War I. Afterwards he was a traveling salesman of railroad ties and notebook covers. Truman hired him as a secretary when he was a senator, then boosted him to Vice Presidential and Presidential military aide.

**BOYS COME EARLY:** When the White House day begins, Steelman has been at work for at least an hour before the boss arrives. Vaughan, naturally, is always there when the President gets in. Snyder is on call.

It's no wonder to keen Washington observers that in this setting the job of molding the national economy for the next war is being turned over to the corporations, that the Defense Dept. can get the gravy for Wall St. It's no wonder that Truman should try to have Vice President Carl Ilgenfritz of U.S. Steel made chairman of the Munitions Board while he continues to be paid by U.S. Steel.

**WHEN DAY IS DONE:** It's no wonder that after a day of great and tiring problems in which the U.S. is destined to lead the world, Harry and John and John and Harry settle down together and talk good old American ways of getting the job done.

(Continued from preceding page)

brought a denunciation of "sellouts from cheap politicians who make promises to support a good farm program at election time and then reverse themselves in Washington." To this he appended a warning: "Failure to maintain farm prices at present levels can only mean a farm-fed and farm-led depression that will cost untold billions in lost production, with closed factories, unemployment and poverty-stricken farmers."

### Adjournment vs. DP's

For months Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) had bottled up a bill to liberalize the entry of displaced persons into the U.S. Last week, with McCarran

in Europe, the Judiciary Committee brought the bill to the floor. Furious opponents, including Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), immediately began a filibuster. Sen. Harry P. Cain (R-Wash.) led off with a five-hour talkfest attacking "lobbyists" who wanted to help DP's. Greatest danger was that Democrats, impatient for adjournment, would jettison the bill.

### Flourish in brass

With a flourish of his pen President Truman on Wednesday boosted the pay of army privates from $80 to $82.50 a month. The same flourish jumped two-star major generals from $896 to $1,146 a month.

### Score

During the week newsmen were handed a box-score of Harry Truman's Fair Deal in the 81st Congress. "A remarkable record of achievement," said the President's press secretary. Sample items: 16 cold war measures were listed as passed; 21 civil right measures were listed as not passed.

*THE OLDS AFFAIR*

## 2 who were honest: 1 purged, 1 dead

ON Sept. 29, 1923, the industrial editor of the Federated Press wrote: "Labor receives less than one-seventh of the value which it creates in producing and refining oil, according to U.S. Census figures. Operation of the petroleum industry for the benefit of the wealthy who own land or securities is the only explanation of high prices combined with low wages where natural resources are so bountiful."

The writer was Leland Olds. Last week—26 years later—the petroleum industry got its revenge. With cries of "communist!" it persuaded the U.S. Senate to vote 53 to 15 against a third term for Olds on the Federal Power Commission.

His crime: In 10 years as a utilities regulator he had saved consumers a quarter of a billion dollars in gas and light rates, had fought the natural gas lobby's drive to escape regulation entirely.

**SHADOW-FIGHT:** GUARDIAN's John B. Stone reported from Washington: "The Truman 'fight' for Olds was more apparent than real. No real pressure was exerted on committee members. There is serious talk that a deal was made to approve John Carson, the cooperative leader, for the Federal Trade Commission and throw Olds to the wolves. (Carson, also backed by labor and consumers, was confirmed.)"

### Too much ethics

Another public servant left the scene last month.

Ray Wakefield had spent his whole working life in government service, rising to the post of Federal Communications Commissioner. He was a Republican. He did his job well and angered powerful people. He kept telegraph and radio rates down. When duty demanded he refused to grant a radio station even to the nephew of House Speaker Sam Rayburn.

In 1947 President Truman recommended him for reappointment, then suddenly withdrew his recommendation. Powerful people had their revenge. In Wakefield's place, the President named Rep. Robert Jones (R-O.). Jones had the support of Gerald L. K. Smith in his congressional race, according to columnist Drew Pearson.

Wakefield retired from public notice until last month when he was found dead in a bathtub with his wrists slashed.

*TIDELANDS OIL*

## Battle rages for under-sea wealth

GATHERING dust in the India Archives House in Seville, Spain, lie yellowed documents which set limits to the Spanish colonies of the New World. It was said that Spain had set jurisdiction at three Spanish leagues seaward (10½ miles.)

Last week researchers were sent by Congressman Poage (D-Tex.) to rummage in Seville. At stake was the strip of sea between low tide and the three-mile limit, around the coasts of Louisiana, Texas and California. Beneath the sea floor in that strip lie an estimated 22 billion barrels of oil, enough to double the nation's dwindling reserve.

**STATES VS. U.S.:** Controversy over ownership of the oil has raged in courts and Congress for 12 years. The States have claimed it, hoping to gain fat royalties from leasing the rights to oil companies. The Federal government has disputed that claim.

In 1937 Harold Ickes, then Secretary of the Interior, held that the tidelands belonged to the Federal government. In 1945 the oil lobby, aided by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), rammed through Congress a bill renouncing all Federal claims to tideland oil. President Truman vetoed it. In 1947 the Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. has "paramount right" in the tidelands off California.

**ISSUE FOR THE PEOPLE:** Pending before the Court now is a U.S. suit to take over the tidelands of Louisiana and Texas. The Court said it wouldn't throw the case out, as the two states

# POLITI

*NEW YORK*

## LaGuardia fervor marks mayor race

REGISTRATION in New York City's mayoralty campaign mounted last week toward a bumper total of 2,500,000, indicating a level of civic interest as high as the record years of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's candidacies.

Clubhouse analysts said the 26% increase by midweek throughout the city was due to Tammany's determination to save the O'Dwyer administration and a welter of political jobs.

Most significant increases, however, came in districts where American Labor Party's candidate Vito Marcantonio is strongest—particularly in Marcantonio's congressional district, where registration was doubling that of the last mayoral campaign in 1945.

**IT'S FLOWERS:** Marcantonio continued to set the campaign pace; he drew rousing crowds on street corners in all boroughs. In Italian districts, where tomatoes and eggs were thrown even at FDR speakers in 1944, residents strewed confetti, rice and flowers for "Marc."

On the radio for Marc, Henry Wallace declared that N.Y. liberals who support either of Marcantonio's opponents "make a mockery of liberalism."

Meanwhile O'Dwyer campaigned in ways open only to incumbents, coming up with a broad hint of permanent

**"You can lick**

**Outside the gates of the Edgar Thompso**
**Corp. 100 sons and daughters of steel**
**flags. They're so**

*West Coast wire*

## $50,000,000 timberland grab—with Krug greasing the skids

**By Gene Richards**
**Guardian Staff Correspondent**

LOS ANGELES

TRIBAL leaders of 2,200 Pacific Northwest Indians last week joined battle against what they described as a monopoly timber grab rivaling the historic railroad land-grant scandals.

At stake were 31,651 acres of virgin timber belonging to members of the Quinault tribe on the Washington coast between Grays Harbor and the Canadian border.

Valued by tribal leaders and independent loggers at $50,000,000, the state's last stand of virgin timber outside Olympic National Park (which it adjoins) was knocked down for $5,426,400 to one big corporation at a "public" auction for which other big outfits obligingly failed to show up.

**THE BIG SQUEEZE:** Catch was that the Interior Dept. under Secretary Julius A. Krug kept an estimated 135 independent loggers out of the bidding by requiring a deposit of $163,000.

This prevented bidding by small operators who wanted to buy 80-acre tracts owned by individual members of the tribe.

The Indians, too, preferred to auction off the land in 80-acre tracts to secure higher bids through broader competition, arguing that the Interior Dept.'s arbitrary offering of three huge tracts kept out independents and that the big corporations had a "gentlemen's agreement" not to bid against each other.

**FRIENDS OF MONOPOLY:** Though Krug's representatives said a majority of the tribe favored the rigged auction in Hoquiam, Wash., the tribe's president, Cleveland Jackson, protested.

Purchaser was Rayonier, Inc. Independent loggers joined bitterly in Jackson's protest that the auction tightened the clutch of monopoly on a basic northwest industry.

Jackson said protests would be carried to Krug, who must approve conditions of the "sale."

### Garbage experts' forum

*CALIFORNIA State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, deposed chairman of the Golden State's subversive-hunting committee, was honored in an unusual way last week.*

*At a swank dinner in Los Angeles, Tenney was eulogized as a valiant cleaner-upper of garbage who fetchingly wears "a crown of slime."*

*Speaker was Rabbi Ben Schultz, national director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, who once described the Rockefeller Foundation as "communist" because it supplied funds to investigate committees investigating un-American activities.*

*Gist of Schultz's tribute was that Tenney was clearing away garbage to build a more solid home for Americanism. Dinner guests paid $4.75 a plate.*

### Bowron on the run

SOME of Mayor Fletcher Bowron's best friends are predicting privately that he will soon face a recall election as a result of mounting city scandals.

Campaign of the Independent Progressive Party for 15,000 signatures on a recall petition (the recall movement has been underway for some time) was lifted from obscurity to become a subject of abusive political comment in the daily press.

Success of the drive could be measured by the reaction of his strongest supporter, the Los Angeles **Daily News.** That paper smeared the campaign as being "gangster" and "communist" inspired.

Bowron's police were undergoing almost daily reorganizations as a result of grand jury charges of graft, corruption and underworld payoffs. All wings of labor have charged them with picket-line brutality and strike-breaking. IPP leaders were proposing a broad political coalition to choose a successor to Bowron.

asked. On the other hand, it wouldn't rule in favor of the Federal case on the spot. The Justices said they wanted time to think about it.

A Senate subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs was considering the matter, too.

Vast profits are at stake for oil companies. For the people the issue is one of conservation and control.

## ITICS

salary increases for N.Y.'s teachers before Election Day.

**SOUR & LOW:** Governor Dewey was among the early registrants, announcing himself as one sure vote for Senator John Foster Dulles and Republican mayoral candidate Newbold Morris.

In a speech to upstate Genesee voters Dewey's senatorial candidate hit the campaign's lowest note. Upstaters' efforts for a Republican victory would be greatly increased, he said, if they "could see with their own eyes the kind of people making up this bloc that is voting for my opponent," Democratic former governor Herbert H. Lehman.

For Lehman or not, New Yorkers took offense at this slur against the city's melting-pot population—Negro, Jew and immigrant stock representing every race, creed and color on earth. Challenged from all sides, Dulles tried to crawl out while Dewey tried to bale him out. But most critics felt that Dulles' campaign of red-baiting and of bigotry against those likely to vote for Lehman had boomeranged fatally.

***NEW JERSEY***

## Loyalty test tested

NEW JERSEY candidates for all public offices this year are required to sign loyalty oaths under the Tumulty-Mehorter law passed at the last session of the state legislature. For those who refuse to sign there is a tag next to their names on the ballot: "Refused oath of allegiance."

Progressive Party candidates, headed by James Imbrie for governor, declared that the oath "stains our democratic franchise with both thought control and guilt by association." They refused to sign it and challenged it in courts.

A lower court ruled the oath valid. Last week Imbrie took the issue to the Superior Court, promised to carry it, if necessary, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Civil Rights Congress filed supporting briefs. Both cited Maryland's Ober law, already ruled unconstitutional.

**...lick 'em, Dad!"**
**...mpson works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel ...teel strikers marched with placards and ...'re solid with pop.**

*Chicago dateline*

# Trolley and bus fares raised; Progressives denounce 'steal'

**By Rod Holmgren**
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

CHICAGO

PROGRESSIVES fought stubbornly last week to prevent the Chicago Transit Authority from putting through an expected order for trolley and "L" fare increases.

But on Thursday the CTA formally boosted trolley fares from 13c to 15c, "L" fares from 15c to 17c, effective at midnight last Friday. The Progressive Party, denouncing the order as an "unconscionable steal," called on Chicagoans to resist it.

During three weeks of hearings, Progressive Party statisticians and Harry Booth, special utilities counsel, had dug up startling facts about operations of the system supposedly owned by the city. For example:

**WHO RUNS THE CTA?** CTA has full power to raise fares, but cannot cut them without consent of the First National Bank of Chicago, trustee for the bondholders. Even then, no reduction can go into effect until after a fare schedule has been in effect for a year.

Treasurer for the CTA Board is Irving L. Porter, who is also a vice president and director of the First National Bank.

The recent wage increase, used to justify the fare boost demand, will actually save the CTA $2,615,000 for the coming year. Reason: the increase was accompanied by a cut in hours for transit workers, whose take-home is now less than it was.

**MYSTERIOUS OUTGO:** Booth uncovered more than $5,000,000 in CTA's predictable income—under current fares—that CTA hadn't accounted for. Where is it going? CTA had no answer.

CTA has 22 executives drawing salaries of $10,000 or more. Ralph Budd, chairman, gets $35,000. The other seven board members, all part-time, get $15,000.

CTA bosses plan to make more drastic reductions in service, even if the fare boosts go into effect, to save $7,000,000 more at the straphanger's expense.

Booth and state PP Director Bill Miller met with Gov. Adlai Stevenson to urge a special session of the Illinois Assembly "to cope with immediate and long-range problems of the CTA." The Progressives suggested a temporary subsidy underwritten by the state, Cook County and the City of Chicago. The governor was cold. A special session, he said, was out of the question.

**ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON**
**Honored at a tea of the Women's Committee of the Progressive Party in Chicago, Mrs. Robeson said she tried to be no more than a good wife and mother. But, she said: "Politics invaded my home and I had to come to grips with it."**

**THE JUDGE DUCKS:** Then the Progressives went to court. Booth asked Circuit Judge Cornelius Harrington to enjoin Porter of the First National Bank from sitting on the board, and to enjoin the board from voting any fare increase in which Porter participated. Harrington ruled that his court had no jurisdiction.

The board had originally set Oct. 4 for the fare increases to go into effect. By winning extension of the effective date, Progressives had already saved straphangers $320,000.

### *The poor pay again*

IT'S going to cost Chicagoans 30c more a month for phone service as the result of an order handed down last week by the Illinois Commerce Commission.

The Illinois Bell Telephone Co. had asked for rate increases totaling $34,100,000 to bring its "profit on investment up to 6.6%." The commission thought 5.5% was enough, granted increases adding $15,195,000 to a temporary hike given last May.

William Miller, Illinois Progressive Party director, called the order "outrageous" and said: "The City of Chicago and Mayor Kennelly are primarily to blame for admitting last spring that the phone company had a case."

Miller said: "the increase is 30c a month, regardless of whether the customer is a Gold Coast tenant with a one-party line or a tenement dweller using a four-party coin box. As usual with government agencies, whether controlled by Republicans or Democrats, wherever they increase rates they always manage to make the man who earns least pay the most."

# LABOR WEEK

***THE STRIKES***

## No steel doughnuts

COFFEE and doughnuts, compliments of Bethlehem Steel, were offered to CIO pickets near Buffalo, N.Y., "Hell," said one striker, "if they can't afford pensions, they better watch their doughnuts."

The half million members of the United Steelworkers went solidly into their third strike week. Federal mediators looked vainly for an opening. Steelworker and CIO President Philip Murray went on a swing through four states, telling strikers and the public: "Before long we'll all be happy; we'll win."

With more CIO contracts expiring (20,000 aluminum workers may be called out next) the N.Y. **Times** voiced concern: "President Murray has been fighting the extreme left-wing element—a point that, in the heat of economic battles, management sometimes seems to forget."

## No break in coal

MEDIATORS also did their best in bituminous coal, without success. John L. Lewis and his 400,000 miners stood fast for more pension contributions, more pay, shorter hours. Suggestions for a Truman fact-finding board elicited only disdain from Lewis. Negotiations continued fitfully.

***AUTO WORKERS***

## Reuther's red light

IN Flint, Mich., last week, Bill Genske, foe of United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, beat a Reuther man in an election at the Fisher Body Local 581.

Reuther's main trouble in Flint was the settlement he had just negotiated with Ford, which is hailed as setting a pattern for the nation. Under it, the company pays the difference between social security benefits and $100 a month for workers 65 years old who have been with Ford for 30 years. Only 5,000 of Ford's 115,000 employes are eligible. The settlement provides no wage increase, does nothing about job security or speedup and is binding for two years. Ford workers will vote on it by Oct. 24.

**TALKING UP:** No one claimed that Reuther was on the skids, but there were signs of opposition.

The executive board of Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint, elected on a 100% Reuther slate last year, urged Ford workers to reject the settlement. So did the executive board of Plymouth Local 51, largest at Chrysler, where negotiations are now in progress.

Delegates to the Ford National Council from Lincoln Local 900 and Highland Park Local 400 voted against approval, while the huge Ford Local 600 was split. Local 600's Pres. Tommy Thompson voiced disapproval, but urged acceptance to avoid "chaos."

## Bell: Fact & fancy

FOR 17 weeks, Local 501 of the United Automobile Workers has been on strike against the Bell Aircraft plant in Buffalo, N.Y. Last week, a state-appointed fact-finding board met in a last-ditch effort to settle the violence-ridden walkout.

Criminal lawyer Frank G. Raichle told them that the company would not (1) rehire "the subversives, those allied with them, and the strike ringleaders"; (2) "deliver up" to the union those members who had returned to work; (3) meet the "absurd, over-reaching and wild economic demands" the union made. Then he denied the company was issuing ultimatums.

Union spokesmen accused the company of deliberately prolonging the strike to encourage small stockholders to relinquish their stock to a group which recently acquired control of Bell. The company had previously refused to meet with Federal or state mediators, but was compelled by law to attend the fact-finding hearing.

Indications were that the fact-finders would find their job long but not without compensation: $100 per man per day. Additional delays were expected because union officials had to appear

in court on a variety of charges arising from the strike. They were out on $396,000 bail posted for them by their local.

# THE ECONOMY

## Away with gloom!

*In 1929, a year of higher prosperity than the country ever had seen in peacetime before, after-tax profits reached a new record of 8.4 billion dollars. Earnings in 1949 are to be nearly twice that.*

**U.S. News & World Report,** Oct. 14, 1949.

WITH barely a nod at the coal and steel strikes, business consultants last week were telling clients to feel good. Their fiscal memories dwelled on 1929 but blacked out the years of hunger and mass unemployment that followed.

**HAPPINESS FACTORS:** Continued shortages in consumer goods and heavy spending by government (much of it for the cold war) are causing business leaders to look happily toward 1950.

**U.S. News** chirped: "Things that business feared when Mr. Truman was reelected haven't been realized. There's no big new Fair Deal, no tax raise, no labor government, no big left swing by a Democratic Congress. Control still lies in a coalition of conservative Republicans and Democrats. Country's nerves are calmer. Political climate at this stage appears mildly conservative."

Businessmen also figure the $2,800,000,000 insurance dividends to be distributed to veterans will help.

### The oil slick widens

As though no one had uttered a depression prediction, international oil interests revealed plans for their biggest overseas expansion in history. By 1952 American, British and Dutch companies expect to spend up to $3,000,000,000 to increase their output by 65%.

They told Marshall Plan officials that the Caribbean and Middle East were to be concentration areas. American producers of oil for domestic use voiced fears of competition from this U.S.-owned oil of foreign origin. It was a pattern developing in many fields. U.S. capital was taking over mills and factories in parts of the world where labor was cheaper.

**MAN SPELLED BACKWARDS:** To perfect their global plans, 175 leaders of the National Assn. of Manufacturers planned to hold forums this week at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. One of their chief concerns, they said, was "telling employes the economic story."

**Do you have four friends? Put them in the subscription blank on P. 11**

# SCIENCE

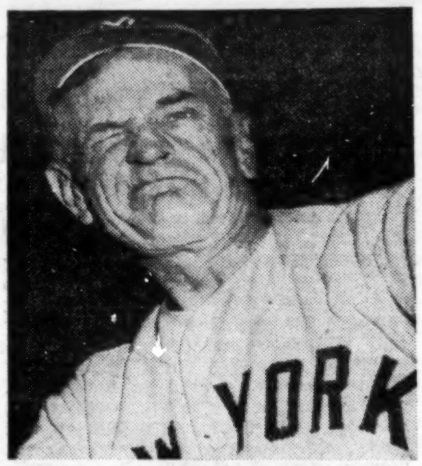
## Narrow shave

JOHN J. O'NEILL, science editor of the New York **Herald Tribune,** was sitting at his telescope two weeks ago when he saw "a dark object, approximately oval" cross the face of the moon in 1½ seconds flat. He said it might have been an asteroid or a gigantic meteorite—in which case "the earth had a narrow escape from being hit by a body that could do more damage than an atomic bomb." He discounted the suggestion that it might have been "an atomic-energy-powered space ship launched by someone unknown. . . ."

Asteroids know no politics. One weighing 1,000 tons hit Russia two years ago and an entire forest disappeared. Soviet scientists collected 250 meteorites from the remnants. They reported that an area 1.9 miles long and 654 yards wide was pitted with 106 craters and holes.

Les Lettres Francaises, Paris

**"Why go to all that trouble to figure out these clippings?" "And who would keep the smoked glass industry going?"**



**CASEY STENGEL**

**Never a man to disappoint the cameraman, the New York Yankees' manager demonstrates how it feels to win a World Series. In Brooklyn the flagons were at half mast.**

# SPORTS

## Male but not white

IN the U.S. some 15,000,000 persons are bowling enthusiasts. In a good year, 80,000 take part in American Bowling Congress tournaments. But since its formation in 1895 the ABC has limited tournament participation to "the white male race."

Last March, at its convention in Atlantic City, the issue came to a head; "white male" backers won. Last week it was boiling again. In Seattle one of the top teams of the Boeing airplane plant—consisting of five Japanese-Americans, three of them with matchless war records—was barred from tournament play.

President J. J. Bunsey of the Boeing Bowling Association said: "We believe all bowlers, regardless of race or color, should have an equal standing in the Association." Everybody, except ABC, agreed with him. Before the week was out the Seattle City Bowling Association had called a special meeting to thrash out the matter.

***OKLAHOMA***

## You get used to it

LAST year Tulsa University objected to playing the Nevada Wolfpack because in its lineup were two Negroes, Alva Tabor and Sherman Howard. Nevertheless the game went on; Tabor and Howard helped their team to 65-14 victory and the University withstood the shock.

This year, with a Saturday tilt against Drake coming up, Oklahoma A&M officials found the ice well broken in their state. They said there would be "no objection at all" to playing against Johnny Bright, Negro sophomore on the Drake team.

# EDUCATION

## ...But not to teach

WITH military precision, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower led the National Education Assn. in orderly retreat.

Only last June, the group had issued recommendations as to how U.S. schools could help "win the cold war against the Soviet Union" by indoctrinating the young. It said that all "communists . . . should be excluded from employment as teachers." (It did not define a communist.)

Now the group has called upon Americans "to condemn the careless application of such words as 'red' or 'communist' to teachers and other persons who merely have views different from their accusers." It also attacked "loyalty" oaths as a menace to freedom of education. The group then retired to a previously prepared position: Communist Party members may not teach.

***CCNY***

## 4 students vs. "Times"

FROM falsies to public housing, each concept that can muster opposition from any source has been tagged "communist led and inspired." Last spring the New York **Times** so labeled a student strike at City College.

It seemed a journalistic cliche; but four students who signed non-communist oaths sued the paper for libel, asking $100,000. The **Times** produced documents concerning the "world communist conspiracy." The students called such material irrevelant. The court sustained their objection. Last week the **Times** appealed the case.

During the strike in the spring 16 students were arrested. Last month the Young Progressives of America called a protest rally. Last week the college withdrew all "campus privileges" from YPA.

# HEALTH

## Medical monopoly

WITHIN the past month the anti-trust division of the Dept. of Justice has begun 22 investigations of state and county medical societies of the American Medical Assn. "Numerous complaints" had been received, said Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, of "conspiracies to . . . prevent the operation of medical care plans not conducted under their sponsorship and operated in competition with the plans controlled by them."

In Los Angeles the West Coast head of the anti-trust division was more specific. He said he was looking into charges that the AMA discriminates against doctors participating in medical service groups; that non-members of AMA are barred from hospitals and hospital services; that AMA refuses to put hospitals on its approved list unless all staff doctors are AMA members.

To AMA spokesmen all this was "police state" terror. "These are not bona fide anti-trust investigations," they said: it was retaliation by the government for AMA's $2,000,000 campaign to defeat compulsory health insurance legislation.

*Max Werner*

# United Germany: The major prize in the cold war

GERMANY now has two national governments, in Bonn and in East Berlin, competing for central power on a national scale. The question is: who will swallow whom, who will outwait whom, and who will collapse first? Overnight, the reuniting of Germany has become the major prize in the cold war.

If it is not yet clear who will pull Germany together, it is completely clear that the Bonn team has neither the authority, nor the power, nor a plan. Confirmed by a majority of one vote only, Chancellor Adenauer will be upset by the stormy opposition from Left and Right and by the inevitable failure of his economic policy.

U. S. mistrust of the Adenauer course is rising. The **N. Y. Herald Tribune's** recent statement that the Bonn cabinet has no more popular support than the newly-installed East German government was deadly in its brevity. But if U. S. public opinion will not believe in Konrad Adenauer, who will believe in him?

**IMPOSSIBLE TASKS:** The Republic of Bonn cannot be economically welded with Western Europe. Western Germany faces an appalling crisis of markets and supply, immeasurably more dangerous than the British crisis. With its exports equaling only one-fifth of the British, its economy is heading toward the rocks.

The West German state stands and falls with permanent U. S. economic support; but U. S. assistance cannot be forthcoming in the size needed for stabilization of the Adenauer regime. Choosing between Britain and Germany, U. S. priority will be given to the British. Our foreign economic policy cannot be concentrated on Germany.

The Russians need not be great prophets to count on the coming crisis of Western Germany; the East German Government will see to it that national unrest is kept alive there. But just this policy will make the regime of partition unbearable in Eastern Germany too.

**BINDER WANTED:** With the cauldron boiling, it will become obvious that tremendous difficulties stand in the way of German unification, both for the Soviet and U. S. policies. Partition of Germany is politically dead, but nobody yet has worked out the political pattern of German unification.

The men who lead the new East German government may have more initiative and imagination than those with Konrad Adenauer. But they cannot knock out the 95% of anti-communist voters in Western Germany. The United States, on the other hand, can make heavy economic investments in Western Germany. But this investment will be politically squandered by the unstable and ineffective Rightist coalition in Bonn.

To overcome the outdated partition, a real political link has to bridge West and East Germany. On the national scale the Social Democratic Party would undoubtedly be Germany's strongest party, but today it is excluded both from the West German and East German governments. In a national government it would be the binding element.

# THE WORLD

## FRANCE

### The crisis is over—until the next one

SOCIALIST Jules Moch, who has been Minister of the Interior in every French government since November, 1947, became Premier of France last Thursday. The seven-day-old political crisis, precipitated by the breakup of the Queuille cabinet over the issue of wage increases, was momentarily resolved when the National Assembly, after tumultuous debate, gave Moch 311 votes, a majority of one. It was not certain that he could gather a cabinet around him.

In the Assembly, Communist leader Jacques Duclos led the attack, holding Moch "responsible for murder." He was referring to Moch's use of armed police and troops against strikers in the fall of 1948. That they were guilty of "wanton brutality" was attested at the time in a declaration signed by French, U.S. and British newspapermen, including reporters and photographers of the big U.S. wire services.

JULES MOCH
*Just by a squeak*

**MOCK TURTLE:** GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow reported from Paris that Moch, a technician, methodical, impersonal and cold, is the most personally hated politician in France, even by members of his own party. His name is pronounced Mock, distinguishing it from **moche**, French slang for "lousy."

Moch was engaged in commercial transactions between France and the Soviet Union in the 1920's, held minor posts in the Third Republic, fought in the resistance, and after liberation became a strong advocate of Socialist-Communist cooperation. In 1946 he asserted:

"We will not allow France to become the bridgehead of American capitalism in Europe." Two years later he attacked striking miners as pawns of the Cominform for "fighting against the Marshall Plan."

**MORE THAN SKIN-DEEP:** The French crisis required more than a change in parliamentary faces. The disorder was deep-seated.

The conservative newspaper **Figaro** said: "It is no longer possible to govern against the trade unions or even without them." To government-reflector **Monde** the crisis was the inevitable result of a state which had lost contact with its citizens. "Isn't this progressive paralysis of governments . . . the symptom of a crisis more profound?" it asked.

At Mulhouse in Alsace Lorraine French Communist Party Secretary Maurice Thorez told workers and peasants: "It's no longer a question of merely changing the team. . . . It's a matter of changing the politics of misery, reaction and war dictated by American capitalism."

Humanite, Paris
**"You'll make a fine Premier."**

## AUSTRIA

### Half a million Nazis

WHEN Austrians elected their first postwar Parliament in 1945, Nazis were not permitted to vote. Victory went to a coalition of the Catholic People's Party and the Social Democrats. It took less than four years for that administration to forgive 537,000 former supporters of Adolf Hitler and restore them to full citizenship.

Another 300,000 young people educated under Hitler were eligible to vote for the first time this year. So were 150,000 "new citizens"—mostly Sudeten Germans and other intransigents kicked out of Eastern Europe.

Last week the Austrian Nazis cast their first ballots solidly for candidates of the League of Independent Voters. The new party won 16 seats in Parliament and was already planning to establish a private army of 5,000 stormtroopers.

Its would-be Fuehrer is Herbert Kraus, former head of Nazi intelligence in Russia. No. 2 man is Victor Reimann, who holds Nazi party membership card numbered 8,110,460. General secretary is former Luftwaffe Gen. Gordon von Gallop, an intimate of the late Himmler.

The League's motto is "A New Wind is Blowing." Its members greet each other with "Hans!" which stands for "Halt Aus National Sozialist" (Hold Out National Sozialist.) League papers have a circulation of 300,000. Its objectives are: a new Anschluss with Germany and "undoing the damage done to Nazis by the Allies."

DR. HERBERT KRAUS
*The Danube is brown*

**PAN-GERMAN PATTERN:** Like their counterparts in West Germany, conservative Catholics and Social Democrats tried and failed to win over the unrepentant Nazis, who took 11.7% of total vote. The Catholics (People's Party) polled 44%; the Social Democrats 38.6%; Communists 5%. The Catholic-Social Democrat coalition was still on top but had a new pull to the Right.

Unlike Germany, the voting in Austria took place on a national scale under relatively smooth Western-Soviet occupation. The small Communist Party, joined by dissident left-wing Socialists, increased its delegation in Parliament from four to five on a program demanding a quick peace treaty and opposing Marshall Plan-Atlantic Pact policies.

### Labor gain in Norway

Four years ago the Norwegian Labor Party squeaked into power with a one-seat majority in the Storting (parliament). Last week the party cashed in on Marshall Plan and anti-communist propaganda, picked up at least 10 seats in new balloting. Conservatives, calling for less "socialism," failed to make headway. Communists, calling for socialism without quotes and less Marshall Plan, lost 10 of their 11 seats.

## GERMANY

### Anti-Bonn activities

SEVEN months ago the People's Council in Soviet-occupied Germany invited political leaders from Western-occupied Germany to a unity conference. The bid was curtly rejected. Instead, Western politicians set up the Bonn Republic, firmly hitched to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

From Bonn, London, Paris and Washington came cries of "Illegal!" last week as Eastern Germans established a Democratic Republic.

In Berlin the new parliament elected veteran Communist leader Wilhelm Pieck as President, Socialist Unity Party head Otto Grotewohl as Chancellor. A 20-point manifesto pledged continuing efforts for a united, peaceful Germany.

The Russians began dismantling the machinery of rigid occupation and substituting a watchdog commission. Withdrawal of troops seemed likely by the end of the year—except for Berlin, which remains a four-power occupation zone.

**THEY NEED EACH OTHER:** The new German state temporarily paralyzed West German trade officials, who had all but signed a $112,000,000 trade agreement with Eastern Germany. To sign, they feared, might be to recognize, although they conceded "we need each other's products badly."

They were further confused by U.S.

*(Continued on following page)*

*United Nations report*

## Russia says: Park all weapons (atomic too) on the table

**Guardian UN Correspondence**

LAKE SUCCESS

SOVIET delegate Jakov Malik submitted to the Security Council last week the shortest resolution in UN history. The world's press asked: "Is it news?" "Is it another oriental maneuver?"

New or not, it was crystal clear. It said: "The Security Council deems necessary the submission by member states of information on conventional armaments as well as on atomic weapons."

**IT'S ONE QUESTION:** From the start of the deadlock on the arms question, when separate UN commissions on Conventional Armaments and Atomic Energy were set up, the Soviets have pressed the view that weapons atomic and non-atomic are one question. For two years they have continued proposing reduction of all armaments by one third, outlawing of the A-bomb and establishment of an atomic energy control body with limited authority.

With their A-bomb monopoly, the Western powers continued answering that agreement with the U.S.S.R. was impossible, because the Russians opposed international atomic control and would never agree to international atomic inspection or to supplying complete information on their armies and conventional weapons.

The British and Americans also favored halting the work of the two UN control commissions. These bodies, however, continued working thanks to the insistence of the U.S.S.R. and many smaller UN members.

**VULNERABLE ASIA:** The words of the Soviet delegates now are the same as in the past. But they have assumed a new meaning since the Soviet atomic explosion shook the world—but not the U.S.S.R.—on Sept. 23.

Soviet delegates calling for outlawing of A-bombs knew all the time their country could produce them. They were not trying to force the U.S. to destroy its stockpile just because Russia couldn't have any. They were ready to destroy their own.

As this fact begins to dawn upon Western minds, another aspect begins to cause concern: the reaction in Asia. The U.S.S.R.'s borders stretch from Europe to the Pacific. Asiatic nations, now feeling vulnerable, want an agreement for at least temporary outlawing of the bomb to be reached at this Assembly session.

**OUTLOOK NOT SO DARK:** That's why, despite sharp exchanges between Eastern and Western delegates last week, the situation has not deteriorated as much as some observers think. Canada, India, the Philippines, Yugoslavia and other nations are working on resolutions involving the bomb and peace. Since conservative as well as progressive nations want to reach the same result—be it for fear or for love of peace—something can be achieved.

Following the "devaluation" of U.S. prestige, smaller nations which have bowed to American wishes may now pressure the U.S. for a settlement with the Soviets. The "peace" resolution the U.S. is drafting, calling for acceptance of the Assembly-backed (but American-made) plan for atomic control, is no alternative to the Soviet proposals. The Assembly endorsed the Baruch plan **before** it knew the Soviets had the bomb.

•

Progress was made last week when

(1). The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. voted with 31 anti-colonial countries for the Philippine recommendation that UN's flag be flown over each UN trust territory beside the administering power's flag. The colonial powers—Australia, Belgium, France, Netherlands and Britain—strenuously objected because they knew the white and blue UN flag would encourage the aspirations of trust-territory peoples to freedom.

(2). "Taking into account the desires of the majority of the delegates," the U.S.S.R. reversed its stand opposing the plan for technical aid to underdeveloped countries.

(3). At the end of an uproarious session of the Ad Hoc Committee on "human rights infringements," Soviet and British delegates Vishinsky and Shawcross who had been competing in witty and pointed sallies at each other's expense practically fell into each other's arms, indulging in an orgy of mutual congratulations.

*(Continued from preceding page)*

High Commissioner John J. McCloy, who in one breath proposed an end to reparations dismantling of industrial plants, and in the next said he couldn't decide such things. German industrialists were happy with the first statement, their British and French competitors with the second.

JOHN J. McCLOY
*A mouth has two sides*

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## Headline roundup

AT Lake Success Czechoslovakia was making a bid for a seat in the UN Security Council against U.S. opposition. New York newspapers ran appropriately violent headlines about the candidate country. "Mass arrests" were reported. Some stories said 2,500 were jailed in Czechoslovakia; others said 40,000 were thrown into prison.

GUARDIAN's George Wheeler in Prague cabled that some priests were leaving the country, fearing excommunication, or loss of salary, or a clothing ration card. Parliament was considering a law withholding government salary from priests who would not declare their loyalty.

**ADOLF WAS HIS PAL:** One priest who under another government habitually closed his sermons with "Heil Hitler" was expelled; others whose loyalty to that government was in as little doubt still officiated in Prague. The new laws, Wheeler said, expressly provide against interference with religious teaching but severely punish "misuse of religion to weaken the republic."

Czech Foreign Minister Clementis, in the U.S. as a delegate to UN, said the stories of a purge were "all fabrications."

### BRITAIN

## No 1949 election

IN England workingmen talked wages; politicians talked politics. Experts were betting that the Labor government, preferring to risk its chances now rather than wait for devaluation and the wage freeze to work their full effects on the nation, would call for an early general election and not wait for the July deadline.

On Thursday Prime Minister Clement Attlee confounded them by announcing there would be no election this year. The news was flashed on a screen at Empress Hall where the Conservatives were meeting. Associated Press reported: "A sigh greeted it."

**ANYTHING FOR A BUCK:** One consideration behind the government's decision was said to be a reluctance on the part of U.S. businessmen to go into a deal when an election might upset things. Dollars were paramount.

With frantic whimsy the government encouraged new dollar earners. The latest was the chelly, a synthetic cherry mde of sugar and glucose, covered with edible seaweed gathered from the Orkney Islands. In U.S. bars there are Manhattans, in soda fountains there are sundaes, reasoned the salesmen. They blinked the fact that on farms there are cherries.

### CHINA

## Britain is on a $1,500,000,000 spot

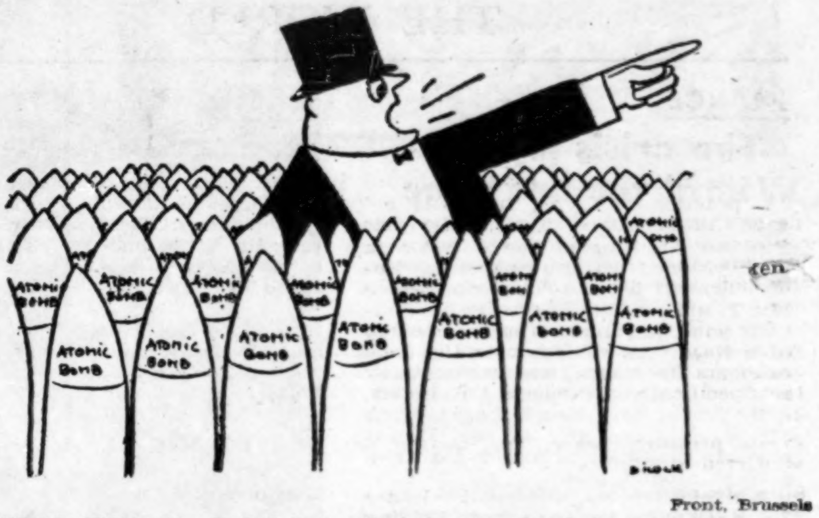
"I LOATHE the communists but we have to face facts. Chiang is finished and we will be finished in China too, unless we can come to some friendly agreement," muttered a venerable Tory to a British correspondent last week.

The sonorous phrases of the London Times proceeded to the same conclusion: "Behind the marching columns

(of the People's Army) many millions of Chinese people are caught up in the social upheaval. . . . The British government must soon make up their minds when and under what conditions they will recognize the new rulers of a country in which Britain has the largest financial and industrial investment."

**CONVINCING ARGUMENT:** British, right and left, were urged toward reality by the fact that if they pulled out of China they would lose about $1,500,000,000 in investments. The U.S., with one-tenth of that financial interest, was one-tenth as much interested in recognizing the fact of the New China.

The British also worried about the crown colony of Hong Kong, close to Canton — abandoned last week by Chiang's men who fled to Chungking and Formosa.




Front, Brussels

*NEWS ITEM: The U.S.S.R. has had the atom bomb for some time.*
**"Civilized peoples! We are in the presence of a grave threat to the peace!"**

**HOLES IN BLOCKADE:** Military disintegration was knocking holes in the Nationalist sea blockade which pleased the trade-minded British. Peter Townsend, GUARDIAN correspondent in Shanghai, wrote:

"We had the pleasure of seeing a Kuomintang gunboat sail up the Whangpoo River with white flags flying, the very ship which had maintained the blockade in recent weeks. And the disease is remarkably catching, so that there may well be a veritable rash of surrenders and defections."

**THE RASH IN PARIS:** Nationalist defections weren't confined to ships and troops. The entire staff of the Chinese Embassy in Paris, except the charge d'affaires and a bookkeeper, signed a declaration of loyalty to the People's Republic and called upon Chinese diplomats throughout the world to follow suit.

### JAPAN

## Doug says pipe down

OBEDIENT to Gen. MacArthur's command and the "American way," the Japanese government is purging its schools and universities of "communists." So far 600 teachers have been fired—most of them connected with Japan's Teachers Union. Even conservatives objected to the purge of those who taught non-political sciences like biology.

Under a new decree approved by Gen. MacArthur, government employes, including university professors, may no longer express political opinion "to a large number of people," or write anything "for political purposes." Neither may they "interfere with the realization of political policies adopted by the State. . . ."

## Advice from aged

AN 82-year-old man shuttled from his 1,500-acre farm in Indiana, to his 72,000-acre ranch in New Mexico, to his plantation in Louisiana, to his oil wells in Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

While he traveled James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, speculated on U.S. foreign policy. There were two large questions in his mind: Shall we recognize Franco Spain; shall we cease dismantling German plants?

Gerard said yes to both questions. But he was old and even when he was younger, in 1933, he said: "Hitler is doing much for Germany. His unification of the Germans, his destruction of communism, his training of the young, his creation of a spartan state animated by patriotism, his curbing of parliamentary government so unsuited to the German character, his protection of the rights of private property are all good."

But the old man asked his questions of 26 other ex-ambassadors and found that they agreed with him. Twenty-three wanted us to recognize Spain; 20 agreed we should dismantle no more German plants. Only Wesley Frost, former ambassador to Paraguay, said "no" to both questions.

JAMES W. GERARD
*Only one said "No, no"*

## B-36 blows lid off vast corruption

*(Continued from page 1)*

Crowley named Johnson, Emanuel and Emanuel's friend, George E. Allen (later President Truman's court jester), to GAF's board. Crowley, who was succeeded in 1944 by another Emanuel man, is today president of Emanuel's Standard Gas & Electric.

**ENTER J. F. DULLES:** Official adviser to the Alien Property Custodian on methods of controlling foreign properties was Republican John Foster Dulles, intimately linked with the Schroder Bank for more than a quarter of a century. Johnson served for almost five years as $50,000-a-year president of GAF's subsidiary, General Dyestuffs. He remained on GAF's board after a management shift in 1947 eliminated some Emanuel representatives and brought in Odlum-connected men. Johnson's law firm, Steptoe & Johnson, serves as counsel to the two Farben firms to this day, making about $60,000 a year.

Negotiations for final disposal of the $100,000,000 GAF are now going on. It is a rich prize, having netted $9,000,000 in profit last year. The government-appointed management — the Emanuel-dominated group — has successfully resisted any action which would destroy its international cartel position. When it is put on the auction block, leading bidders are expected to be Emanuel and Remington Rand.

**THE BIG DOUGH WAITS:** The GAF affair is not chicken-feed; but neither is it the biggest deal afloat in Washington. The military dispenses more than five billion dollars in contracts every year. The War Assets Administration still has $1,800,000,000 in war goods to be sold. There are millions to be granted in subsidies, more millions to be loaned by the RFC. (Emanuel's man, George Allen, served as RFC head from March to December, 1946.)

But as the Schroeder-Emanuel trail shows, big business is interested in more than cash loot. It aims to preserve the structure and privileges of international cartel relations. The German steel trust, organized by Dillon Read and the Schroeders in 1926, was reorganized after World War II by Dillon Read's Gen. William Draper with the help of R. J. Wysor, Republic Steel man, a representative of the Emanuel-Schroder interests. The German steel trust is now doing business at the old stand.

**SCHROEDERS ALL:** A Schroeder vice-president, Samarkand-born Lada Mocarski, who was financial adviser to the U. S. War Department during the war, was made consul in Zurich in 1944. This was a strategic point from which to work with another Schroeder director, Allen Dulles, head of OSS in Switzerland, to preserve the structure and personnel of Nazi industry. Still another Schroeder official, Norbert Bogdan, was financial adviser to the U.S. Army in Germany and later Japan.

# DOLLAR STRETCHER

WE'VE noted before how some stores in large cities make a practice of giving discounts of 20-25% on well-known brands of merchandise, especially household appliances. These sh[illegible] are known as discount houses and generally avoid publicity because their price-cutting, although of obvious benefit to consumers, is disliked by other retailers and, in fact, is forbidden by laws in most states.

If you don't know of a discount house in your town, one reliable New York firm has arrangements to supply out-of-town customers by mail. Here are four specials currently offered by the Specifications Products Co., 157 St. Nicholas Ave., Brooklyn 27, N. Y.:

**Presto pressure cooker:** Four-quarter size, list-priced at $12.95, is offered at $9.95.

**Silex steam iron:** Considered by trade experts as one of the best, with a list price of $15.75, is offered at $11.81.

**Broilking broiler:** Lists at $19.95, is offered at $14.50.

**Lewyt vacuum cleaner:** Lists at $79.95, is available at $59.95.

There is no delivery charge on these to points east of Chicago. More distant points require a delivery fee of 50c on small appliances, $2 on the vacuum cleaner. Specification Products will not accept COD orders on these items; checks must accompany orders. Allow ten days to two weeks for delivery.

### Play materials at low prices

Whether it's toys for Christmas or a good all-year source for playthings, you ought to know about the Arts Cooperative Service.

This is a consumer cooperative organized by nursery teachers and child guidance experts who wanted intelligent reasonably-priced materials rather than fragile commercial novelties at high prices.

You can buy either by mail or in person at 340 Amsterdam Ave., New York 24, N. Y. If you need many playthings, it may be worthwhile to become a member at $3 a year. Members get a 5% discount on purchases of over $5 at one time, and also get the co-op's catalogues and guidance handbooks without charge. Non-members can obtain the current handbook catalogue, **Materials for Children, 2 to 7,** for 25c.

**MAKING TOYS AT HOME:** The Arts Co-op not only gives guidance on how to use inexpensive materials for playthings, but makes these materials available at low cost. Wooden wheels, dowels and strips of soft pine can be had for making toys at home. Tools for children are available at reasonable prices, such as a utility saw for 35c. Large floor blocks are 8c to 40c apiece. Rhythm and simple music instruments include a rhythm block of wood for 50c, drum heads for 50c up, a heavy metal triangle with striker for 65c.

### Easy-to-make skirts

One of the best money-saving ideas to come on the market recently is the skirt length with shirred elastic top. Only a hem is needed, and the skirt is ready to wear. No other cutting or sewing is necessary, since the elastic top will fit almost any waistline. The skirt lengths are either of tubular material or have the side seam sewn.

Generally the lengths are 37 inches. A short woman may have to slice a piece off the bottom before hemming.

Many department stores throughout the country are selling them in thin wools such as crepe for $2.69 up; in flannel or tweed for $3.69 up; in rayon taffeta for $2.50 up.

### Peekskill record

"The Peekskill story"—a two-sided, standard-speed record—has just been issued by People's Artists and the Civil Rights Congress in cooperation with Charter Records.

The record features Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Pete Seeger and the Weavers in narration, songs and eye-witness reports.

Single copies are $1.15, including postage. Orders to: Music Desk, 13 Astor Place, NYC.

Progressive groups may purchase lot orders for resale at a 40% discount from these addresses: Charter Records, 267 W. 69th St., NYC; Record Merchandising, 1903 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.; K. O. Ascher 1418 Hyde Pk. Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; M. Morris, General Agents, 687 Bay St., Toronto, Canada.

All royalties go to People's Artists and the Civil Rights Congress.

# Memo to AMA—This is Harlem, U.S.A.

By Egon Pohoryles

WHY does a Negro in Harlem die almost ten years earlier than a white man in other parts of New York? Why do four times as many Negroes die of tuberculosis than white people? Why—in the biggest and richest city in the biggest and richest country in the world—do Negroes suffer so strikingly from heart disease, cancer and diseases of early infancy? Why were 36% of the Puerto Ricans in Harlem ill last year?

These were some of the questions raised at the Conference for Health Care Without Discrimination at Harlem's Hotel Theresa last weekend. The conference was called by the Physicians Forum, a group of doctors and dentists fighting the $2,000,000 propaganda campaign of the American Medical Assn. against federal health insurance. (The AMA intends to raise $3,500,000 for its campaign by an assessment of doctor members.)

**WHAT IS NEEDED:** The conference concluded that the answer lay not only in more doctors, nurses and hospitals—badly needed as they are—but also in new housing, new schools and, above all, in an end to discrimination.

This was the picture speakers drew of conditions in Harlem:

Children crowded into schools filled to three times their intended capacity. Lunches eaten at desks (no playing facilities; gyms used as lunch or classrooms). Nurses visiting schools only every third or fourth day. Doctors spending half an hour in each school once a week.

**BEDS IN THE HALLS:** Two public hospitals (one of them was private until last year) serve Harlem's 400,000 citizens. They are chronically overcrowded. Tuberculosis patients lie in beds which are jammed together—in hallways. Facilities for the treatment of nervous disorders—which, psychiatrists point out, are especially prevalent under an involuntary segregation

pattern—are particularly inadequate.

Harlem's slums breed disease. But sanitation facilities are even more meager in Harlem than in the rest of the city.

The Physicians Forum, a non-political organization, invited candidates of all political parties to discuss Harlem's health. Best represented was the American Labor Party, whose representatives pledged an end to discrimination under an ALP city administration.

*Radio report*

# Honest, Abe, you'd never believe it

By John Norton

THE voice was the voice of Abraham Lincoln, but the words belonged to the National Assn. of Manufacturers. That was my feeling on hearing a recent broadcast of NBC's **Cavalcade of America** (NBC, Tuesday, 8 to 8:30 p.m., EST).

The program is sponsored by DuPont—one of the biggest monopolies. DuPont has been buying the program for 15 years and draws a full measure of advertising and "free enterprise" propaganda.

**HIRAM AND ABE:** This broadcast told how Western Union was formed by a corporate wizard named Hiram Sibley. Sibley was played by Raymond Massey, who has often been cast as Abe Lincoln. Big businessman Sibley was thus identified, from the start, with the Great Emancipator. Can any citizen find anything wrong with a financial manipulator who sounds like Honest Abe?

The show told how there were dozens of competing telegraph firms a hundred years ago which made for wasteful duplication and high prices. Sibley toured the

Tyrihans, Oslo

**"Whaaat? Am I smoking again?"**

country in the radio play, buying up rival outfits and finally forming one big company. This made exciting drama. One almost forgot the propaganda selling the idea that monopoly means low prices.

**SO ENTERTAINING:** As the business hero Massey said: "What's good for the public is good for business; and what's good for business is good for the public." This was part of the "entertainment"—but it could just as well have been part of the DuPont commercial or an NAM after-dinner speech.

The actual commercial included an interview with a woman DuPont stockholder. She is one of the 100,000 "owners" of the company, the announcer said. This was supposed to demonstrate that DuPont isn't owned by the DuPont dynasty, but by thousands of "average" Americans. One must ask, perversely perhaps; what influence this woman has in DuPont policy and how much of the fabulous profit she gets.

**Cavalcade of America** is dramatically a fine program, well written and acted by stellar performers. It is also a shrewd perversion of history to serve the ends of an industrial giant. Radio allows five minutes of commercials on a half-hour show. This should be considered 30 minutes of commercials for DuPont.

# CALENDAR FOR PROGRESSIVES

## NEW YORK

**Call by Bedford-Stuyvesant (Brooklyn) ALP to "Conference on Health Without Discrimination" Wed., Oct. 19, at First A.M.E. Zion Church. Contact American Labor Party, 129 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y., TR 5-0700.**

•

**"Case of the Loaded Mike," radio mystery play protesting blacklisting of radio director William Sweets and others, at Voice of Freedom annual Town Hall rally, Sat., Oct. 22. Tickets from VOF, 122 W. 71st St., $1.20 to $2.40. Deduct 50c for each ticket from check or money order if ordering before 22d.**

•

**Public forum on international control of atomic energy Sat., Oct. 22, at City Center Casino (55th St. and Av. of the Americas), 2:30 p.m. Speaking under auspices of National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions are Dr. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist; Frederick Schuman, professor of history; Max Werner, military analyst — all GUARDIAN contributors. Tickets $1 for members, $1.50 for general public, at ASP office, Room 70, 49 W. 44th St., N. Y. C.**

•

**World Documentary Theater presenting documentary films from many countries, opens Tues. evening, Oct. 25, at Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th St. and Av. of the Americas. Detailed folder available at theater boxoffice on request.**

•

## MIDWEST

**Chicago: GUARDIAN party Sat., Oct. 22, given by fifth ward PP, featuring Midwest correspondent Rod Holmgren. Food, drinks, songs, games for $1—25c of which goes to GUARDIAN as a sub. At the Nollets, 5439 Drexel Av., 9 p.m.**

•

**St. Paul, Minn.: Ramsey County PP meets at American House, 444 Rice St., Fri., Oct. 21 at 8:30 p.m. Frederick Renaud reviews O. John Rogge's "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties" with audience participating in discussion.**

•

**Cleveland, Ohio: Convention of Cuyahoga County PP, Oct. 22-23. Contact local PP for information.**

•

**Chicago: Birthday party for 84-year-old Willie Bell, member 1st Ward PP, active progressive 30 years. Sat., Oct. 29, at 8 p.m. Contact local PP for information.**

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**The GUARDIAN has 3,000 extra copies of the Oct. 10 issue with the four-page Marcantonio-ALP supplement. ALP clubs and other groups may have them free for campaign use. Write to 17 Murray St., N.Y. 7. Or phone WOrth 4-1750.**

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*The miracle of Wang Po-chuan*

# China's peasants—80 pct. of China—drop the shackles of centuries

By Israel Epstein

WANG PO-CHUAN, peasant of Shantung province, may or may not have heard of the most striking sentence in Communist chairman Mao Tse-tung's speech proclaiming the People's Republic of China: "One quarter of mankind has from this moment stood up."

But if you were to ask Wang how life has changed since his village became part of the Liberated Areas, the chances are he would use the same words. "We stood up" was the most common reply I got to this question from other peasants, years ago, when the territories held by the Chinese People's Armies were still small, besieged and far from victory. Invariably it was coupled with some statement like: "We are masters of our land." These are still the usual answers.

**HE BECAME A MAN:** Peasants like Wang are 80% of China's population. For centuries, whether under the old Chinese empire or under Chiang Kai-shek, they were mainly tenants, sharecroppers or debt-ridden smallholders. So deprived were they of political or any other rights, that a man of Wang's type did not dare talk to a stranger at all; he would "play dumb" when addressed, in the immemorial defensive way of oppressed peasants everywhere, whether in China or in the U.S. Black Belt.

If accosted by a man in a long gown (landlord or official) or in a uniform (soldier or policeman) he would feel like an unworthy intruder on his own farm. And with reason—for he might easily find himself dispossessed before such an encounter ended.

Today, tenantry and share-cropping are extinct in areas where the People's Republic is consolidated. All farm debts, too, have been canceled by decree. In his Shantung village, Wang helped chase out the Kuomintang troops, and later to divide the landlord estates and burn the landlord's debt records.

**CHANGING ROLES:** The ex-landlord is no longer political chief of the village, to be fawned upon and courted. On the contrary, it is Wang who sits on the village committee, and the landlord is very polite when he meets him.

One of the ways in which Wang explains his feelings of having "stood up" is that the old bosses of the village never used his name in the old days: it was always some patronizing expression, much like the U.S. southern "Boy" when they felt kindly, or some unprintable epithet when they were in a bullying mood. Now, to all except his close intimates, he is "Wang Po-chuan Tung-chih"—Comrade Wang Po-chuan.

Under the old government Wang's toil-twisted, sun-baked figure and worn, weather-streaked clothes made him "know his place." Today they are the mark of the most honored citizen, the man who helped create the new order. No official from outside would think of passing by men like Wang, and going to some long-gown, to get the facts about the village.

And when uniforms come in sight, today it is the long-gowns who search their consciences. Wang has sent his own son into the army to make sure that the landlord power does not return. He himself has a militia rifle and armlet in his hut, where he keeps them between sentry tours and training sessions.

**MASTER OF FATE:** The general look of Wang's village is still the same as it always was. His hut is still of mud, without glass windows, wooden floors, proper lighting or sanitary facilities. The fields around it are still tilled with the immemorial hoe, and it takes a gallon of sweat to yield a pound of grain—weather permitting. But the field is his without encumbrance, as is the grain after he has paid taxes much lower than in the past.

When the new government introduced the farm cooperative, Wang joined it. When it tells him there will be consumers' goods, farm machinery, better houses and electricity and modern country schools if he only works hard enough, he believes it although he has never seen these things.

After all, when he "stood up" a much greater miracle happened. He threw off the burdens none of his ancestors ever escaped. And he learned that "Fate," that alien and formerly hostile force to which Chinese peasants always resigned themselves in the past, is now whatever he and the rest of the people will make it.

*ISRAEL EPSTEIN grew up in China, where he lived for 28 years. He is the author of "The People's War" and "The Unfinished Revolution in China." He is at present an editor of Allied Labor News.*

**"ONE QUARTER OF MANKIND HAS STOOD UP."**
*One day soon the hoe will be replaced and the backs will straighten*

*What's happened to the CIO?*

# How Murray & Co. became muscle men for the cold war

By C. W. Fowler
*(Second of three articles)*

THE CIO has come a long way from the stand its founding unions took in 1936 and from the policies it followed during the New Deal and war years. As of October, 1949—14 years to the month after it was first set up—the top leadership has turned its back on the militant, fighting tradition that made CIO the challenge and threat to monopoly it used to represent.

In many ways CIO's majority leadership now parallels the ultra-conservative, company-accommodating characteristics it used to mock in the top brass of the American Federation of Labor. There is the same dictatorial attitude on official policy. The same threats of expulsion, charter-jerking and union disruption are visited on all who dare think for themselves, as did the founding fathers of CIO back in '36.

And there is the same reluctance to fight for better wages and living standards for the rank and file.

**COLD WAR DECAY:** The sharp turn began in 1946, coinciding with the turn from Roosevelt's foreign policy of cooperation with Russia to Truman's cold war. The long plunge into redbaiting began at the Atlantic City convention that year. In 1947 CIO leadership undertook to support the Marshall Plan regardless of its consequences to millions of workers, including those in CIO.

In its early and middle years CIO gave general support to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal government, but it was never subservient to government. By its militancy, it won concessions that could not otherwise have been won.

But support for a good government is far different from surrender to a bad government. The partnership with Marshall Planners and Truman cold warriors is a complete switch from CIO's earlier relationship with the New Deal. Now the organization is a cog in an ever-accelerating war machine which, as such war machines have done always and everywhere, must end in disaster.

**FATAL YEAR;** It was in 1946—the year of the Truman Doctrine—that the decline in real wages of American workers began; that price control was killed; that the railroad strike was broken, and Truman laid the foundations of Taft-Hartley with his "work or be drafted" threat.

And 1946 was the year the roof went off corporate profits, which have since tripled even over the lush war period.

In former days the CIO was not smiled upon by monopoly's agents in the State Dept., nor did it have Averill Harriman's approval. Today CIO leaders, basking in respectability, are hailed for "labor statemanship" and invited into minor fringe positions on the Marshall Plan. Out of all this comes their dictatorial attitude toward CIO unions, expressed by the "conform or get out" line of Murray and Reuther at the 1948 convention.

Since then open threats of violence are made against dissidents, with CIO Vice President Allan Haywood quoted as promising "brass knuckles" at the upcoming CIO convention.

**RAIDING & HOLLERING:** Raiding and union disruption in CIO unions is by now an old story. CIO's third largest affiliate, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, has been raided in 456 shops. One of CIO's smaller affiliates, the Food and Tobacco Workers, has been raided in plants covering over half its membership. Such raids invariably result in lower wages and worsened conditions.

To the decline in real wages, to onrushing depression, to unemployment and the threat of war, CIO majority leadership has only one answer: redbaiting. Anti-communism has become a career for CIO officers and the multitudes of piecards that infest the CIO payroll. It has also become a mask for failure to carry on CIO's original job.

What redbaiting really is, and where it always leads, has been shown so clearly in world affairs since Mussolini and Hitler that those influenced by it seem incapable of learning from history. Redbaiting as a weapon has larger targets than the Communist Party or its members. It has become the catchall device for blocking all progress and making effective action for better conditions impossible.

**THE BIG PURGE:** The facts tell the story. CIO stopped organizing long ago. The southern drive is a failure. Last month's most widely-hailed achievement in the South was a raid on a small tobacco leaf-house already organized by a CIO union. The fight for wages and conditions has been lost in the higher struggle against phantom reds.

This is the picture as the CIO goes into its 11th convention the end of this month. There is little doubt that the threats against some or all of the 11 CIO unions in the progressive minority will be carried out. When that is done, CIO leaders will be congratulated by the press, the radio and the President of the U.S.

But the problems of the workers remain.

**Is the conflict in CIO "ideological," as Murray insists? Is Murray following the pattern of British labor leader Bevin? Can CIO's left wing gain by surrendering? C. W. Fowler answers these rank-and-file questions in his final article next week.**

**The author**

C. W. Fowler was assistant publicity director of the CIO and assistant editor of the **CIO News** from July, 1937, until he resigned in March, 1946. He is now editor of the CIO Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers **News.**

**BOY, THAT'S THE LIFE!**
*CIO Secretary James Carey off on a Marshall Plan junket*

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